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THE WEST INDIES:

THEIR SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

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Negro Servants.

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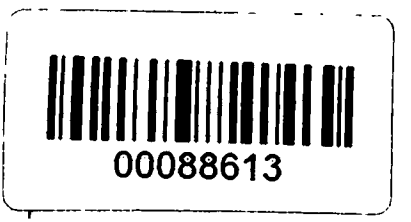
BY

EDWARD BEAN UNDERHILL.

LONDON: JACKSON, WALFORD, AND HODDER,
18, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.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THE WEST INDIES:

Their Social and Religious Condition.

BY

EDWARD BEAN UNDERHILL.

LONDON:
JACKSON, WALFORD, AND HODDER,
18, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.

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TO

SIR S. MORTON PETO, BART., M.P.,

Treasurer,

THE REV. FREDERIC TRESTRAIL,

Secretary,

AND TO THE

COMMITTEE OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY,

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

BY THEIR

COLLEAGUE AND FELLOW-LABOURER

IN THE

KINGDOM OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR.

PREFACE.

THE tour, of which the following pages contain the record, was undertaken at the request of the Treasurer and Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society. Its object was primarily to investigate the religious condition of the numerous Baptist Churches which have been formed in the islands of the West, especially as that condition has been affected by the Act of Emancipation.

Emancipation was itself the fruit of the religious sentiments of Great Britain, and it has been found impossible, in judging of its results, to separate the religious from the social aspect of it. For in the elevation of the negro, even freedom, with all its stimulating influences, stands second in power to religion, and, without extending our view to other races, it will be seen that the advantages already gathered from liberty, owe their life and hopefulness to the influence which Christian truth exercises over the minds of the enfranchised.

I cannot doubt that the evidence here collected will satisfy both the friends of Christian Missions and the philanthropist, that their efforts have not been in vain; that the Creoles of the West Indies are not deserving

of the reproaches which have been of late so freely cast upon their character as wanting in industry and intelligence.

It is necessary, however, to remind my readers that the question to be determined, is not whether the enfranchised people of our West Indian Colonies have reached the platform of civilization and wealth occupied by the nations of Europe; but whether they have used well the twenty-three years of freedom they have enjoyed, and won such a position, in that short period of time in the life of a nation, as may fairly be expected of a race emerging from a cruel and debasing bondage. In my judgment, the answer must be given most emphatically in the affirmative.

In that portion of my tour which embraced the island of Jamaica, I enjoyed the companionship and efficient aid of my highly esteemed friend, the Rev. J. T. Brown, of Northampton, who was selected by the Mission Committee for this purpose. Throughout the whole of these varied journeys and voyages, my dear Mrs. Underhill was my constant associate, and greatly contributed to the utility and interest of my work.

We have most gratefully to acknowledge the numberless acts of kindness we received, and the unreserved freedom with which all classes, whether Government authorities, planters, ministers, or the peasantry, communicated the information we sought.

13, *Camden Square*,
December 14*th*, 1861.

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ERRATA.

Page 96, line 9, for *hurtling*, read *beetling*.
Page 120, line 16, for *converstion*, read *conversion*.
Page 235, line 16, for *inpenetrable*, read *impenetrable*.
Page 266, line 2, for *if*, read *when*.
Page 295, line 19, for *humam*, read *human*.
Page 335, line 12, for *twelvth*, read *twelfth*.

TRINIDÄD.

TRINIDAD.

CHAPTER I.

The Voyage—Our Fellow-passengers—St. Kitts—Martinique—St. Lucia—Barbadoes—St. Vincent's—Grenada—The Gulf of Paria—Port of Spain.

A VOYAGE across the Atlantic to the isles of the West, in the summer season, in one of the splendidly-fitted steamers of the Royal Mail Company, does not afford many incidents. Fine or stormy, as the weather may perchance be, the noble vessel, alike unheeding tempest or calm, presses on its way; nor does its heart of steam cease for a moment to beat, till the voyagers gaze on the pleasant-looking city of St. Thomas's Isle, and are moored in its land-locked and unhealthy harbour. On the fifth day from Southampton, a brief glimpse was afforded us of the Isle of Terceira, one of the Azores, as towards sunset we hastened by. We passed on the south side of the island. St. George's Isle was also in

sight; and dimly on the horizon we caught a glimpse of the cone of Pico, some sixty miles off. The sunset was glorious; it lit up the hills and dales of Terceira with an exquisite purple light, which gradually faded away into the grey haze of twilight. Then came the moon to give another charm to the fretful wave, to the ripple of the more distant sea, and to the shadowy regions of the land, as we hurried on our way.

To most passengers, the objects of interest afforded by the sea are soon exhausted. The sparkling, frightened flight of the flying-fish attracts notice for a little while; schools of porpoises, in slow rolling motion on the surface of the waves, soon tire the spectator; and the more that they allow no questions, no examinations of their attainments in fish or other lore. The seaweed of the wonderful gulf stream has a share of attention, and gives rise to much scientific and other talk on the origin and course of this great river of the sea, and its climatic influence on the lands whose shores it laves. At length interest fastens on our fellow-passengers, and the coolness of the first few days wears away. Travelling experiences are recounted, thoughts on many things are exchanged, and in a while matters of personal concern are more or less confidentially imparted. Little by little free intercourse is established, and the party on board settles down into well-understood combinations, on terms of easy familiarity.

Our fellow-voyagers were of a mingled sort: some were Spaniards, on their way to Cuba; others were Mexicans, returning to their homes after an European

tour, or from a visit to the marts of the Old World. One gentleman was an employé of the Mexican Government, having fulfilled a diplomatic trust in Spain. With great earnestness he assured us that the journey from Vera Cruz to the capital of Mexico was a dangerous one: he should most certainly be robbed on the way, and perhaps murdered. A few members of the party seemed to think that the possession of Mexico by the Government of the United States was an arrangement devoutly to be wished, even at the cost of its separate national existence. Anything would be better than the present chronic anarchy, and the absence of security for person and property, which for so many years have been the condition of this fine portion of the globe.

There was, however, more interest for us in the opinions of some on board connected with the West India sugar islands, and whose personal acquaintance with the places and people we were about to visit, enabled them to communicate facts which might be useful in guiding our judgment or our plans. Several gentlemen of official rank were passengers; and we listened with pleasure to their statements on the general condition of the islands, and the results of emancipation. Not one desired the return of slavery. Jamaica excepted, all the English islands were said to be prospering, some more so than at any former period of their history. Especially was this the case with St. Kitts.

St. Kitts, or rather St. Christophers, contains about 21,000 inhabitants. There are not labourers sufficient

for the cultivation of the island, and much competition exists among the planters for their services. They are therefore well paid, and enjoy many immunities. The money rate of wages is kept pretty uniform; but the planters offer inducements in the way of provision grounds, better houses, liberty to graze goats and cattle on the estate's lands, to secure the labourers' toil. The people not immediately engaged in the cultivation of the estates, hold their houses and land at low rents; a few of them are owners of the property they occupy. The deficiency of labour leads to a somewhat untidy cultivation; and in this respect the island does not compare with Barbadoes, where population is abundant, and the rate of wages low; but the produce of the island is large and increasing. Last year 9600 hogsheads of sugar were exported, the largest export for fifty-one years, of which our informant himself shipped one-tenth. The planters do not make the large profits of slavery times; but the people, *i. e.* the emancipated negroes, are far better off, are rising socially, and enjoy many privileges. They are contented; and if individuals among the whites have suffered, the community, as a whole, in every moral and social respect, has been a great gainer by emancipation. The people are well housed, well dressed, but not provident. There are, however, no paupers. The sick and those unable to work are provided for in hospitals, supported from Government funds. Work is abundant. Idleness or crime alone prevents a man from obtaining a good subsistence.

Schools are supported by grants in aid, from funds raised by taxation on provision grounds. Each school so assisted must have, at least, fifty scholars in regular attendance. All children under twelve years of age are, by law, under the charge of the medical officer appointed to each parish, who is salaried by the Government. His sanitary powers are very considerable. The population thus loses but a small proportion of its children; additions are made by natural increase to the labouring class, and the foundation is wisely laid for a sufficiency of labour as cultivation extends, apart from the costly immigration schemes of other islands.*

The island is broken up into nine parishes, and a church has been erected in each parish; but there is not a sufficient supply of clergymen for them all. The Moravian and Wesleyan missions are flourishing. A striking illustration of the impressibility of the negro character is seen in the effects of the religious teaching of these two bodies. The Moravian negro is quiet, easily satisfied, and seldom displays any anxiety to better his condition. He avoids lawsuits, and is patient under wrong. The Wesleyan negro is more active, fond of show, somewhat given to self-assertion, more independent, and anxious to secure his legal rights. In a similar way, national characteristics are impressed on the negro: the English negro is easily

* The natural increase of population is not, however, sufficiently large to meet the growing demands of capital, and the extension of cultivation. Since my return to Europe, the legislature of St. Kitts has determined to resort to immigration.

distinguished from a French or Spanish negro, and these from each other, according to the influences under which they live.

The Government pays much attention to the general welfare of the coloured population. Taxation is thrown as much as possible on articles of import or export, and so arranged as rather to stimulate industry, and check extravagance, than to burden any particular class. The prejudice of colour is not unknown; but it is stronger between the various shades of brown and black, than between the black and the white. The following is an illustration. A black man was chosen a member of the Assembly. Several brown men were already members. They threatened to resign their seats if a black man was permitted to share their deliberations. The Government insisted on the black man's right, and, after much wordy war, the objectors were obliged to submit. The chief barrier to equal social intercourse with the whites, is stated to lie in tastes and habits still tinged with the vices of slavery, and the ill-educated condition of the black population. Conscious of inferiority in these respects, they shrink from the society of white people, and are uneasy in their company.

Crime is not prevalent, and what there is consists chiefly of petty thefts, larcenies, and personal abuse. In abundant seasons, every kind of crime diminishes. The number of offences rises or falls with the diminution or increase of employment. The magistrates depend much on the influence of the missionaries to

restrain excesses, and to preserve the people within the bounds of law.

No small portion of this favourable picture of the working of emancipation in St. Kitts, is doubtless owing to the residence on the island of many of the proprietors of the estates, and the wisdom which of late years has characterised the measures of its Government. But very different views were expressed by others of our fellow-passengers. Thus it was said, that the Act of 1838 was, with a great want of wisdom, carried into hasty execution. Time ought to have been allowed for preparation. The change was too sudden, and was inevitably followed by the ruin of Jamaica, Grenada, St. Vincent's, and the rest of the English Antilles. The slave, as the result has shown, was unfit for freedom. He should have been placed under salutary restraint for a long term of years, during which education should have been imparted, and habits of industry and self-restraint acquired. The fanatical zeal of philanthropists and missionaries defeated every measure of this kind. Hence in Jamaica, and Trinidad, and Guiana, the enfranchised slave hastened to the woods, and squatted on unoccupied lands; and, although an improvement may now manifest itself in some places, yet, as a race, the negroes are improvident, idle, and not accessible to the usual motives which procure in more favoured lands regular and skilful labour for the capitalist. More than once, *Baptist* missionaries were said to have been the chief obstacle

to a sound and fair settlement of those economical questions which emancipation raised for solution.

To such statements it was only permitted us to listen, to inquire, to compare, withholding for the present a definite judgment. The following pages will, in due course, give to our readers the final conclusions to which we came.

Few voyages are more beautiful than the run from St. Thomas' to Trinidad. The mail packet touches at the larger islands, and passes within sight of nearly all the rest. Martinique, the southern end of St. Lucia, and St. Vincent's, surpass all others in grandeur, wild picturesque beauty, and impressive mountain scenery. It was at sunrise that we approached Martinique. Mountains, hills, valleys, ravines, gorges, precipices, in infinite variety of form, presented, as we steamed along, a panorama of surpassing beauty. Everywhere were the signs of cultivation. The slopes of the hills, and the dales, were covered with plantations. Here and there, a "sucrerie" peeped out from the abundant foliage of mango-trees, or was surrounded by groves of cocoa nut palms bending in manifold graceful forms. The mountain tops were covered with forests; the whole glowing with light and varied colour, as the sun ascended to the zenith. The bustle of the port, and the numerous ships lying in the roadstead, proved the existence of a considerable trade. It is understood that the colony has surmounted the depression that followed emancipation, which boon was granted by the

revolutionary government of France, in 1848; but it is difficult to obtain any accurate reports of the progress of the French colonies. The freedom enjoyed is not that absolute liberty secured to the negro in British possessions; but is said to be a species of serfdom, which compels labour, and leaves to the enfranchised little choice as to the kind or place of toil. As we coasted along, the scenery became more quiet, but was still most charming. In some places were immense dykes, like walls of masonry, enclosing gloomy ravines. In others, the swelling hills were brilliantly green with growing cane crops. Beyond, mountains towered to the clouds and hid their heads in mist, while their slopes towards the sea, presented to the voyager the pleasant sight of fields under culture with tropical productions. At the southern end, the land becomes flat and uninteresting.

A short run, and we were in sight of St. Lucia. This is an English island. On the northern side, the side of our approach, the hills are covered with bush, or forest, presenting but few signs of cultivation. About the port of Castries, the mountains put on a bolder form. Lofty eminences are seen to the southward; most conspicuously, the two peaks called Pitou, or Les Aiguilles. They are conical in form, and, with other contiguous elevations, exhibit unmistakeable marks of volcanic origin. Hot springs even now testify of the fires that slumber beneath. As the chief cultivation is on the north side of the island, it was not visible to us, our course lying to the west.

Early on the Lord's Day we anchored for a short time in the roadstead of Barbadoes. The church bells sounded very sweetly across the calm surface of the sea, awakening home associations, and a feeling of exile from the land of our birth. Barbadoes is a low coral island; its wavy surface is under cultivation in every part. The houses of the people are scattered about over the plantations. We were assured that here, at least, emancipation has wrought no harm, that great prosperity is the present lot of its proprietors. The people, however, are said to have made less progress in godliness and civilization than in other islands. They are chiefly estate labourers still, and few possess land of their own. The population is very dense. The rate of wages is therefore low; and many of the arts and enjoyments of civilized life are beyond the means of the people.

Hasting away, we reached St. Vincent's late in the afternoon. Its general appearance is, in many respects, like that of Martinique. Bold masses of mountains are interspersed with verdant valleys, rude ravines, and rugged steeps. Volcanic peaks and crater-like hollows, mounds and crevices, rich with luxuriant vegetation, give a wild grandeur to the scenery. The accessible spots are occupied with fields of sugar cane; and, standing in their midst, is the mill for the manufacture. Kingston, the chief town, lies at the bottom of a small, but imposing harbour. Our steamer sailed in close under lofty precipitous rocks, almost grazing them with her paddle-box. The strata of these lofty precipices are

thrown into a perpendicular position, the work of volcanic forces; the harbour itself, having every appearance of being once the crater of an active volcano. On the lofty promontory which forms one side of the harbour, are situated the barracks. We sailed away in the gloaming, the sun tinging the rocks with gold and purple hues, as he went to rest.

Before dawn the following morning we awoke with the sudden stoppage of the vessel; she had run aground on a coral-reef, in the outer harbour of Grenada. For a few hours there was much anxiety; but at length by skilful warping, throwing over the heavier spars, and shifting the cargo, we got off without damage. After coaling, we quickly steamed on our way, and as the shades of evening fell, obtained a glimpse of the mountains which mark the nothern coast of the Island of Trinidad.

Grenada, we were told by a fellow-passenger, is fast going to ruin. Certainly, our brief inspection of the town bore out the statement. Houses in considerable numbers were closed, and falling to decay. The streets and squares were grass-grown; the shops looked bare and dull, and no vehicles broke the silence of the rude paving over which we stumbled. There is said to be a want of both labourers and enterprise; yet the island is one of the most fertile of the smaller Antilles, is very healthy, and its fruits are among the finest and best. Tropical vegetation chokes up the dismantled fort; climbs, and then crumbles down, the empty dwellings; clothes every rock with freshness; even the steep volcanic sides of the mountains are draped with the

roots of trees; triumphs of tenacity they hold fast to the precipitous lodgement they have chosen. The very margin of the sea has its sands and rocks carpeted with herbage, as if nature, with untiring but kindly hand, would hide the decay of man's works, and revel in her freedom from man's culture.

Grenada owes its decay, like some other islands, to the perverse conduct of the planters at emancipation. A system of summary ejectment was resorted to on the estates, without any regard to age or sex, which drove the people to emigrate to Trinidad, or to more kindly spots. Drought and unfavourable seasons completed the work which a blind folly began.

Of late, however, the attention of the planters of Barbadoes has been drawn to the advantages of Grenada. A few estates have been cheaply purchased, and a portion of the over-crowded population of Barbadoes has been induced to transfer its labour to this fertile soil. For some years the exports have chiefly been confined to ground provisions, sent to other islands more cultivated and prosperous.

The delay occasioned by the accident at Grenada, rendered our entrance of the Gulf of Paria one of some risk and anxiety. It was midnight before we reached the formidable straits, so well named by the great Columbus, the Dragons' Mouths. The gloom before the moon rose, rendered great caution necessary as we neared the land. Entering the chops of the channel, our good ship battled unsuccessfully for a time with the angry current, as it rushed between the frowning

and craggy rocks, which constitute the Umbrella passage. No beacon light guides the voyager amid the hurtling rush of waters. For a few minutes the steamer struggled in vain with the fierce torrent, and not until she had gradually sidled across to calmer water under the opposite rocks, was she able to win her way into the quiet sea of the gulf. The pier-head light of Port of Spain then became visible, and about 2 a.m., with a bright rising moon lighting our way, we landed on the shores of Trinidad.

CHAPTER II.

State of Religion in Trinidad—Commencement of Baptist Mission—Its progress—The Portuguese Christians—Their persecutions and flight to Trinidad—The Church—Maria Jones—The Sunday School—Dry River Settlement—Christian Missions in Port of Spain—The Roman Catholic Church—The Use of the French Language—Creole French—Coolie English—The Romish Hierarchy—The Anglican Establishment—Public Buildings—Administration of Justice—A Trial—The Savannah—Maravel Valley—St. Joseph—Cultivators of the Soil—Arouca—Rebel Sepoys—A Peasant Sugar Manufacturer—The Mission.

THE Baptist Mission in Trinidad was formed in the year 1843, when the Rev. George Cowen, shortly before an agent of the Mico Charity, commenced preaching the gospel in Port of Spain. At this period but few evangelistic exertions had been made for the spiritual and moral well being of the emancipated population. The United Presbyterian Church, or rather the Scotch Secession Church, supported two missionaries. Their station in Port of Spain was founded in 1835; that at Arouca in 1842. The Wesleyan Mission had three agents in the island. The influence of the Church of England was slight, its ministrations being almost entirely confined to the few English. The Church of Rome claimed to be the Church of the people, though its priests set an example of contempt for moral obligations, only too readily followed by their uninstructed

adherents. The moral condition of the mass of the community is described at this time as being truly frightful. Even in comparison with the Creoles of Jamaica, they were "awfully demoralized." There was an utter indifference to spiritual things. Superstitious practices, partly of Romish, partly of Pagan origin, everywhere prevailed. No progress had been made since emancipation in remedying the evils produced by slavery. Concubinage was almost universal; education was little regarded by the dominant sects; idleness and repugnance to labour marked the conduct of the enfranchised population. Great numbers were content to squat upon unoccupied land, satisfied with fruits of trees and the produce of their scanty toil.

The exertions of Mr. Cowen were first directed to the capital; and before the end of the year a small church was formed, consisting of a few immigrants from North America and Sierra Leone. The missionary's attention had also been drawn to the settlements of American negroes in the district of Savanna Grande. In 1844, there had been received into Christian fellowship fifty-one persons; and mission premises had been secured in an excellent situation in Port of Spain, purchased from the trustees of the Mico Charity, with moneys supplied from the Society's Jubilee Fund. The Rev. John Law joined the mission in 1845; and in the following year Mr. Cowen settled at "The Mission" in Savanna Grande. At Dry River, a suburb of Port of Spain, a small chapel had been erected, and a school formed. Some additional places for preaching were also opened

in the vicinity. In the year 1849 the number of members in the mission churches had increased to one hundred and seventeen.

As in other lands, the influence of Romanism was not merely obstructive to the spread of divine truth; its gross superstitions had driven many intelligent young men into infidelity. To counteract these evils, Mr. Law, by means of a press supplied by friends in Wales, issued, with very considerable effect, a series of tracts, directed against the errors of Popery. This effort was the more opportune, for, jealous of the increase in the number of state-supported ministers of the Church of England, the Church of Rome made at this time successful exertions to enlarge its hierarchy. An archbishop was appointed by the Pope; a jubilee to give honour to his coming was proclaimed, and more priests were placed on the funds of the colony.

In 1853 the mission lost, by Mr. Cowen's death, a faithful and active missionary. His place was not supplied till 1856, when the Rev. W. H. Gamble, of European parentage, but born in Trinidad, and educated in England, offered his services, and was located in the field left destitute by Mr. Cowen's decease. In that year the foundation of a chapel was laid by the Governor, Lord Harris, in Port of Spain, close to the Mission House, and completed the year following. Divine service had hitherto been conducted in a large room in the Mission House. The chapel is strongly built of stone and timber of excellent quality. Its cost was about £1000, the far larger part of which sum

was raised in the colony; there remains only a small debt of about £150. It will seat comfortably 300 persons; but can be made to hold more. It is airy and well lighted, and stands in close neighbourhood to the principal square of the town and the government buildings.

On the evening of the day of our arrival (August 23rd), we had the pleasure of meeting the Portuguese members of the church. It was their usual evening for prayer. The circumstances of their connection with the mission are interesting. About the year 1839, Dr. Kalley, a pious physician, took up his abode in Madeira. He found the greatest ignorance prevailing among the inhabitants. Few had ever seen the Bible. They did not even know that the New Testament was written by men who had beheld and conversed with the Lord. When the book was shown to them, some expressed doubts of its authenticity, and wanted proofs; but many listened with profound interest and attention to the portions which were read in their hearing. Their interest increased, and great numbers came to hear the Word of God. Often a thousand persons were present on the Sabbath; once the number is supposed to have reached five thousand.

These meetings were held in the open air, on the mountain top, or in a deep valley, where the comers could be hidden from the adversaries who now began to threaten their liberty. A tide of persecution set in; many were imprisoned, and one female was condemned to death. The labours of Dr. Kalley were stopped

by the authorities, and that with the concurrence of England's foreign minister, Lord Aberdeen. In 1845 the Rev. W. H. Hewitson arrived in Madeira, and recommenced the evangelic labours which the priests of Rome had cut short. Many converts were made. Again arrests, examinations, and imprisonments by the Inquisition set in. At length an attack was made on Dr. Kalley's residence, who, in disguise, succeeded in escaping to an English ship in the harbour. Many of the converts fled to the mountains. If discovered, they were cruelly beaten, or were made to promise to go to confession. More than a hundred, faithful to their convictions, took refuge on board an emigrant ship; others quickly joined them, and they set sail for Trinidad. Ultimately, about 800 persons became exiles for the Truth, and settled in various parts of the West Indies.

Early in September, 1846, the ship "William" came to anchor in the roadstead of Port of Spain. The arrival of the refugees stirred up the sympathy of all classes; a group of thirty was quickly assembled at the Mission House, some of whom remained as permanent guests of the missionary. Shortly after, Mr. Law had the pleasure of baptizing seven of their number; and subsequently others joined the church. The greater part, however, was formed into a distinct congregation; and early in 1847 was set in ecclesiastical order by the Rev. W. H. Hewitson. This congregation is under the charge of Mr. Vieyra, and consists of about 500 individuals. On the Lord's Day morning, after a sermon in English, Mr. Law is accustomed to preach in Portuguese, to a con-

gregation of some sixty persons. He has also prepared a hymn book for their use. Of the visit of Mr. Knibb to their prison in Madeira, in 1845, some of them possess a lively remembrance. His words they did not understand, but the look of sympathy, his tears at their distress, spoke as powerfully as speech. It was only through the bars of their prison that Mr. Knibb was permitted to see them.

During our stay we had much pleasant intercourse with the coloured members of the church. One of these is the offspring of a negro, and a North American Indian. She has the features of an Indian; but her colour is that of the negro. On her arrival in the colony, some thirty years ago, she and her family were baptized into the Church of Rome. Subsequently she was converted by the grace of God, and added to the church; but, to her distress, her children and grandchildren for the most part remain in the communion of Rome. Most touchingly she spoke of her earnest endeavours for their salvation, of her much prayer on their behalf. Her views of divine truth were clear, and she spoke with earnestness and propriety of her love to the Saviour. She obtains her livelihood by the cultivation of a piece of ground, a little way out of town. "I never want," she said; "my Heavenly Father supplies all my need. One crop succeeds another: now maize, now sugar-cane, now cocoa, now yams, each in its season." Poor as she is, she never comes to the Lord's day worship without a gift in money to the cause of God. *That* she will not omit; if she has nothing to sell from the

produce of her garden, she will cut a few bundles of grass from the wayside, and carry them to the market, that she may be provided with her gift. This is indeed a bright specimen of the grace of God working on an uncultivated mind. Although unable to read, she speaks with great correctness and force.

The story of Maria Jones, another member, is a deeply interesting one. She came to see us several times, though now aged and ill able to walk. Only sickness can keep her from the house of God. Though about eighty years of age, she still retains a vivid recollection of the hour when playing in the bush, near her father's hut in Africa, she was suddenly seized and borne away to the frightful hold of the slave ship. Brought to St. Vincent's, she was sold to the captain of a small trading vessel. Possessing an untamed spirit, she often rebelled, and as often endured the severity of the scourge. Being an unprofitable slave to her owner, she was sold to a Trinidad planter; and on the Palmiste estate, was driven to daily toil in the cane field. The manager was a young Scotchman, who has since risen to wealth: the slave, though now free, is still poor. Referring to this, she said, "I more rich than he for a' that; he poor blind buckra sinner, while Father make me rich for ever." From the Palmiste estate she was removed to Mount Pleasant, in the northern part of the island, and here she became free. After emancipation, a school was opened, and an evening class for adults, by a teacher of the Mico Charity. Though sixty years of age, Maria entered both.

Here she first heard the story of Bethlehem and Calvary, and the more intensely did she long to read the inestimable narratives. Not content with the instruction of the school, she would often, she told us, stop on the road any person who knew how to read, and learn to master some difficult word or phrase. Nor would she rest till she had shown her proficiency, by reading to us from her large-typed Testament a chapter from the Evangelists.

As the Presbyterian missionary often visited the school, from his lips Maria acquired a saving knowledge of the Gospel. The first effect was to marry the man with whom for years she had lived as wife, after the custom of slavery. Subsequently her attention was directed to the subject of baptism, and after much consideration, she desired to be immersed in "same fashion as Jesus he own self." This could not be denied her. "Then," said she, as she came from the water, "I baptise four times now, but only one time right." Her first baptism was in her own country, by those who stole her; the second by the priests of Rome on her arrival in the island, for however much that church may neglect the instruction of her children, she does not fail to give the sprinkling of water, the chrism, the salt, and the cross on the brow; a third time was she sprinkled, on her joining the Scotch Church. Very consistently and honourably has she since then followed the Saviour in the observance of His precepts. Patiently, but with strong desire, she awaits death's summons to be for ever with the Lord.

Our mission church in Port of Spain consists of fifty-eight members. Of these about fifteen are Portuguese, and the rest natives of the island, of European or African descent, with the exception of two or three Chinese and East Indians. The congregations during our stay varied from fifty to one hundred and fifty. A Sunday School is held in the afternoon of Lord's day, which contains some thirty children in regular attendance. There is, in addition, a class of thirty soldiers, or Zouaves, from the ranks of a West India regiment, all Africans; some of whom are but recently come from Sierra Leone. They have a very imperfect acquaintance with English. It was our pleasure, on one occasion, to help them to lisp out the words of holy writ; and also on a week evening to meet a still larger number with their wives in their barracks, and address them on the great salvation. This weekly service is sustained by Mr. Law, with the cordial concurrence of the commanding officer.

On two or three occasions I went to the little gatherings of the Africans and their children at Dry River. This settlement was formed by a portion of the early African immigrants, within a few years after emancipation, when first the planters attempted to supply the dearth of labour by importations of labourers from abroad. The immigrants left the sugar estates as soon as possible, and settled in the vicinity of Port of Spain, on small plots of land, to which they had no legal right, and which they now cultivate for their support. They retain many African usages, and are little removed from the wild life

of their native country. Their houses are mean, formed chiefly of mud and thatch. Amongst them stands a large shed devoted to night dances, and to the noisy music of the banjo or drum. Drunkenness is prevalent; the rum shop is their bane and their ruin.

Other denominations of Christians labour with considerable success in the capital of the colony. The Wesleyan congregation is large, and so also is that of the United Presbyterian Church,* from whose minister, the Rev. W. Brodie, we received the kindest and most Christian attention. The rector of the parish is also assiduous in his efforts to elevate the people, and several religious societies attest the desire of the Christians of Trinidad to spread around them the blessings of a Christian civilization. Among these the Bible Society takes the first place, under the active presidency of the Chief Justice, C. J. Knox, Esq., himself a native of Trinidad, and highly esteemed by all classes of the community for the amenity of his manners, the impartiality with which he administers the laws of the colony, and the efforts he puts forth for the moral and religious improvement of the people.

The activity of these various bodies has of late years prompted the Church of Rome to make strenuous efforts to retain the population under her influence. A large seminary, called "The Convent," was founded a few years ago by the ladies of a religious sisterhood from

* The number of communicants is 103; the average attendance on public worship, 170.

France. It supplies gratuitous instruction to three hundred poor girls, and a higher education to one hundred and twenty more. The buildings are situated not far from the Baptist Chapel. There is also a seminary for boys, of earlier foundation, which contains about sixty pupils. The English language is taught in the schools; but the medium of instruction is French, the language of the common people throughout the island. It is understood that the priests discourage the acquisition of English. Till lately, the sermons at the cathedral were preached in French; but the increasing use of English, has given rise to a monthly sermon in this tongue. The reason of this dislike to the language of the rulers of the island was explained by a native to be, that the French is the tongue of the Roman Church; English is the language of Protestantism. To acquire the latter, would be to forsake the Church of his fathers. Hence there is much difficulty in inducing parents professing the Romish faith to send their children to missionary schools, or even to Government institutions, in which the education is entirely secular; for instruction in all these schools is wholly in the English tongue. Not a little indignation has lately been expressed by some of the French speaking population, at a saying reported to have been uttered in the legislative council, by an officer of the Government:—that it would henceforth be the duty of the Government to Anglicize the country. In Port of Spain the process is rapidly going on. When the sugar estates and cacao plantations were settled by refugees from Hayti, and by emigrants from the French

Islands, Canada, and France, the institutions of the colony became French in their form and spirit. With English rule, came in English institutions, English planters, and commercial relations with England. Port of Spain is yielding to the influence of this change; and the constant use of the English language in the courts of law, in trade, in education, will certainly displace the French, and the tongues which are spoken by persons coming hither from the Spanish main, and from the peninsula of Hindustan. Were French the indigenous language of the country, its displacement might be a vain expectation; but both the people and the language are importations. And the Creoles of the West Indies are the most susceptible of all populations to the influences which surround them.

The language spoken by the French Creoles is not pure French; it is peculiar to the island, euphonious, and very regular in form. Changes of construction are made by prefixes, the root remaining invariable. Many old French words, now rarely if ever used in classical French, are common. But Negro and Coolie English is most barbarous stuff, and ought everywhere to be discouraged. There can be no reason why the Coolie, whether Chinese or Indian, should be addressed in the ridiculous style which constitutes the usual medium of intercourse between him and his employer. It were quite as easy for the Coolie to learn good English as bad, and far more pleasant to the ear than the jargon now talked upon the plantations.

In twenty-two parishes of the island, the Church of

Rome has a resident priest. As many of the parishes are very extensive, and the population is very thinly settled, the life of a zealous clergyman is sufficiently laborious. The cathedral of Port of Spain is a large and handsome building, well situated in the *plaza* near the sea. The interior is spacious, and numerous seats fill the nave; but the pictures and images are unworthy of notice. An archbishop presides over the priesthood, and owes his appointment to the Pope, notwithstanding that he is paid by the island Government £1000 a-year. His diocese extends to several other islands of the Antilles, and a part of the year is spent in visiting them. On this account the Government, a few years since, cut down the salary to £500, pleading this distribution of his services as a reason why his salary should only partially be provided from the revenues of Trinidad. Being an Italian priest, his allegiance to the crown of England was also doubtful. The controversy was closed with the understanding that, for the future, the archbishop should be a subject of the Queen of England. The salary was then restored. I believe a pervert from the Church of England at present holds the appointment. The entire Romish priesthood of the island is salaried from the public treasury, to the annual amount of £4980. It must, however, be admitted, that in this respect they are hardly dealt with, if the amount received by the Church of England is brought into view. The Romanists claim to have, in their twenty-two parishes, 45,000 of the people under their spiritual care; the Anglican clergy only 16,500,

scattered over fifteen parishes; yet the latter draw from the state funds £5404. The staff of the papal church is twenty-seven priests and one archbishop; of the other, fourteen clergymen and one archdeacon, with an array of clerks, sextons, and catechists, and allowances for contingencies, denied to the priests. In both cases, the parsonages and churches are built partially at the cost of the State, the Treasury usually making grants to the same amount as the sums raised by voluntary contributions.*

It must be admitted that the Government of Trinidad has made ample provision for the spiritual wants of the people. Further claims are continually being advanced, and that often without the slightest regard to the actual need. In one district the work is thought too laborious, and a division of it into two districts is proposed. In another, a particular dissenting mission is winning converts; so it becomes desirable to retain the people under the control of the regular clergy. From time to time, these incessant encroachments arouse the opposition of the resident proprietors and the missionary bodies; they meet even with reproof from the Colonial Office;† but nothing effectual will be done until English anti-state churchmen are alive to the injurious effects of

* The entire cost of the two church establishments in the year 1857 was £10,816.—*Parl. Papers, Statistical Tables, part* iv.

† In March, 1859, the Colonial Office refused an addition to the Protestant Church Establishment in Savanna Grande, on the ground that, "in proportion to the numbers of that communion," the annual vote was already sufficiently ample.

these colonial establishments, and assist local efforts for their suppression. So great is the antagonism existing between the Anglican and Romish communions in Trinidad, that it is understood the priests of the latter are quite prepared to give up their emoluments, in order to unite with the dissenting bodies in an effort to abolish the entire system of State endowments. The dissenters are not strong enough alone, as not more than 5000 of the population are under their influence. As Trinidad is a Crown colony, English Nonconformists can act directly on its Government through the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Port of Spain cannot boast of any remarkable architectural ornaments. The public buildings, as the Government offices are called, are simply two barrack-like structures, on the north side of the cool, tree-shaded Brunswick Square. The council room, and the court for the administration of justice, are of the plainest character; but the former is adorned by a fine statue of Lord Harris, whose term of rule is spoken of with the greatest respect and regard by all classes, but little shared in by the present occupant of the Queen's House. To Lord Harris the town is indebted for an elegant fountain on the promenade near the sea, for a very handsome and well arranged hospital, and for the plentiful supply of water enjoyed by the inhabitants.

An afternoon spent in the court-house, during the progress of a trial for an assault, interested me much. By the kindness of the Chief Justice, who presided,

Mr. Law and myself were accommodated with a seat behind the Bench. The case was tried by the Puisne Judge, H. T. Bowen, Esq. A black man was the offender: the prosecutor was a white man—the Supervisor of the rum manufacture. The charge was, that the black man, a carpenter by trade, one night waylaid the other, menaced him with a large iron implement or gouge, which the Supervisor, who was on horseback, with a thick stick struck from his hand. The assailant picking up his tool, ran away. The white man sought assistance; but while dismounting at the rector's gate, was attacked a second time, and received two blows on the head. The indictment charged the prisoner with cutting and wounding. The evidence as to the assault was decisive, another black man, with the rector, supporting the testimony of the prosecutor; but it was not clear that there had been any actual lesion, or even abrasion of the skin. The interest of the trial, however, lay in the evident purpose of the prisoner's counsel, a young man of Creole extraction, but educated in England, to make it a case of white man *versus* black man, and to rouse in the minds of the jury the prejudices of colour and race. Before our entrance, every white man on the jury had been challenged and removed, so that the panel consisted entirely of coloured men. The Attorney General conducted the case of the prosecution. He opened it in a calm and dispassionate manner. His examination of the witnesses was free from every taint of prejudice, or attempt to awaken it. Not so the

cross-examination and defence. The counsel tried in every way to insult and damage the complainant: his severities when a master of slaves were recalled; violent deeds of ancient date were referred to, to give colour to the statement that the prisoner acted only in self defence against a passionate assault on the part of the prosecutor. The Advocate's speech was nothing but a declamatory attack on the character, motives, and temper of the plaintiff. He disclaimed all wish to set race against race, and loudly asserted it to be a calumny to say that the coloured population had any prejudices against the white. Yet the challenge of every white man summoned to serve on the jury, the tone of his remarks, his references to the "poor thick-headed fellow at the bar," his abundant abuse of the prosecutor, proved the contrary. The speech of the Attorney General, in reply, contained a just and manly reproof of this unfair use of an advocate's privileges; and, argumentatively, was a conclusive answer to every portion of the defence. The summing up of the judge was clear, impartial, but against the prisoner. The jury could not agree to a verdict, and after being locked up all night, was dismissed.

There can be no doubt that in this case justice was made subordinate to the triumph of race. The counsel's course was violent and unfair, and damaging to the interests of justice. The prosecutor may have been in former days, may be even now, a hater of the blacks, and have committed many acts of oppression. Let him be punished for them; but he ought not on that

account to be deprived of the protection of the law when his life is endangered, whether the criminal be white or black. If the prisoner's counsel had the interests of the colony at heart, and of his own race in particular, he would scrupulously avoid awakening, or keeping alive the feelings to which slavery gave birth, and rather strive to remove such prejudices from the administration of just and equal laws.

This case, however, was said to be an exceptional one. Criminal justice is usually administered with great impartiality, and to the general approval of all classes of the population. The high character of the present Chief Justice ensures this as far as his influence can extend.

To the north of the city is an extensive savannah, or park, affording to the inhabitants a pleasant, refreshing drive at the close of the day. On one side is the governor's residence, a low bungalow, of no pretensions to beauty or style, environed with numerous trees of tropical and indigenous growth. In other parts are the dwellings of merchants and officials; and on the south the very commodious, airy, and well arranged hospital. The savannah itself is covered with cattle, the property of numerous Coolies, on whose skill as cowkeepers the inhabitants depend for their milk. Fortunately for the supply of this most necessary article of household use, many of the Coolies first imported were of the cowkeeper caste. At the close of their term of service, they returned with avidity to the occupation of their Indian life. Until then, milk was a luxury in

Port of Spain which but few could command. The savannah stretches to the foot of the mountain range that surrounds Port of Spain on three sides; in its valleys are found sugar estates, cacao plantations, and the provision grounds of the people. At the entrance of the valley of Maravel is a large sugar property, the fields of which were bright with the growing cane. Then the valley narrows, the road winding along its bottom, round the foot of the mountains, which exhibit their lofty brows crowned with forests; lianes, or creeping plants, bind the trees together, and fall in graceful festoons down the sides of the hills. A ride led us through plantations of cacao, gardens of plantains, orange groves, here and there a stream crossing our path, and then rushing with murmurs and soft moanings over its rocky bed below. At some distance we came to the reservoirs, which furnish Port of Spain with its abundant supply of water. The village of Maravel is scattered along the roadside. The houses are all of wood, built neatly, and with shingled roofs. The people are attached to the Church of Rome; and their church is a plain, humble structure, adorned inside with the usual tinselled figures of the Virgin and Child. The loftiest of the mountain peaks we saw in this ride is 1800 feet high, and the range belongs to the series of mountainous elevations which defend the north side of the island from the rude assaults of the Atlantic.

A day spent at Arouca, a station of the United Presbyterian Church, afforded us an opportunity of seeing the country to the eastward of the Port of Spain.

Skirting, for a short distance, the sea shore, in order to turn the hills, which on this side defend the city from the miasma of the great swamp, formed by the waters of the Caroni, our driver, a black man from Barbadoes, took a road along the base of the mountains. The town of St. Joseph lies to the left, on a wooded spur of the mountain ridge, which rises behind into the lofty peak of Maraccas, 3000 feet high. The population of the ancient capital of Trinidad does not now exceed a thousand individuals. Its houses are neatly built, and are chiefly occupied by descendants of the Spaniards, who were the first discoverers and possessors of the island. There are barracks for soldiers, the scene of a mutiny of one of the black West India regiments, in 1838. They were chiefly new men, lately enrolled from a band of captured Africans, and still retaining their savage habits and tastes. Forty were killed in the suppression of the outbreak by the local militia. Sir Walter Raleigh captured St. Joseph, in 1595, in one of his memorable voyages. Now its inhabitants peacefully pursue the culture of the surrounding hills and savannahs. In the plains below are sugar estates, and gardens for the growth of ground provisions, chiefly in the occupation of Chinese immigrants, who are far more prompt than the free negroes to avail themselves of the profitable markets for vegetables, yams, and other farinaceous products which the island presents. There are abundant openings for advantageous cultivation of this kind, as, at present, a very large portion

of the food of the common people, especially of those working on the estates, is brought from the opposite coast of Venezuela, or the neighbouring island of Grenada. Our driver complained much of the dearness of provisions. Wages, he said, were quite three times as much as in Barbadoes; but the cost of living deprived the immigrant from that over-populated island of the advantage. Many of the people of Trinidad seem content to peddle about the towns with the spontaneous growth of the fruit trees which abound.

The hills are inhabited by small proprietors, who once were slaves. In addition to provisions for their own use, they cultivate small quantities of cacao and coffee, which they sell to the merchants, and, with the proceeds, supply their more artificial wants. Some work for hire; seldom, however, in clearing the cane pieces, or the ordinary work of the estates. They prefer the irregular toil of lumberers, cane-hole diggers, road makers, or such work as can be done by the piece, or by contract; but they are very chary of entering into any contract or engagement that can be enforced by law. This dread of fixed, regular, and continuous labour, is one of the results of that state of bondage from which they have emerged.

Beyond St. Joseph is Tacarigua, situated on the Caroni river; a straggling hamlet, but possessing a very pretty church and parsonage of the Church of England. On our way, we forded three or four rivers; which, in the rainy season, become torrents. Large iron girders, lying on the roadside near two of the

streams, showed that preparations were being made to bridge them.

A few miles further, and we came to Arouca. It is a village of some extent, and surrounded by sugar estates. As it was not the time of crop, the mills were not "about." The houses of the Coolies are ranged along the roads of the estates, or near the mill yards, and are generally superior to those inhabited by the common Creole negro. The immigrants have the repute of being an industrious and quiet people. In conversation, I discovered among them some rebel sepoys from India; one had been a followerer of Ummer Singh, of Jugdespore. They were ready enough to talk; said that "this" was "good land," that they were well off, and were saving money. But finding that I knew those parts of India from which they came, they quickly walked off, apparently fearing that the discovery of their connection with the mutiny might in some way compromise them. Their demeanour and plumpness of form, far removed from the leanness and obsequiousness which so painfully mark the ryot of Bengal, left no doubt of their prosperous condition.

After dinner we drove a few miles, to a small property of a few acres, the possession of a black man; one of the very few who, in Trinidad, have commenced the cultivation of the sugar cane on their own account. He shewed us the wooden mill which he had himself erected; the copper for boiling the cane juice, and the mode of working. He uses a mule to grind the cane, and usually sells the sugar, in a wet state, to his

neighbours. Generally small cultivators are discouraged by the planters, who are said to be reluctant to buy their canes.

A cordial welcome was given to us by the worthy missionary, the Rev. G. Lambert. A very neat chapel and mission-house are well situated on the roadside, usually attended by a congregation of upwards of a hundred persons. The communicants number fifty-six. The missionary also labours among the young, having both a day and a Sunday school. Three weekly prayer-meetings gather the people together for frequent worship. To these employments Mr. Lambert adds lectures on scriptural topics, with pictorial illustrations; one of which we had the pleasure of attending in Port of Spain during our stay. In the evening of the day of our visit, a large congregation assembled to hear from me some account of the Lord's work in other lands. Thus, on the borders of the wilderness, the servants of Christ are found successfully preparing the way for the coming of His kingdom. The most degraded of men are found capable of receiving that truth which saves the soul, and that instruction which elevates the human mind.

It was moonlight when we bade adieu to our host and his hospitable family, so bright as with startling distinctness to bring out the outlines of the mountains on the deep dark blue of the sky behind, their noble forms separating and mingling their shadows as our position changed. The mountains here rise very abruptly from the plain, and are covered to the top with timber and bush.

CHAPTER III.

San Fernando—The Churches and Missions—Savanna Grande—The Mission—Montserrat—American Negro Colonists—Missionary Work—A Sugar Estate—Immigrant Coolies—Their Religious Condition—Character of Creole Labourers—Sugar Cultivation—Matilda Boundary—New Grant—Third Company—Removal of Mission to San Fernando.

THIRTY-TWO miles to the south of Port of Spain, is the town of San Fernando. A small steamer runs daily between the two places, occupying three or four hours in the passage. It is subsidized by the Government to carry the mails. The accommodation for passengers is good. There were many on their way to the circuit court at San Fernando on the day of my passage, and among them the Puisne Judge. He fully confirmed the statements already made to me by Chief Justice Knox, that the Bengal immigrants exhibit the same readiness for perjury and falsehood, as in the courts of justice in India. Their presence in the island has led to some complications in the administration of the laws—Hindu customs and institutions which are lawful in India, sometimes conflicting with local usages and regulations—and giving rise to considerable fear, lest the decisions of the courts should be lowered from the high estimation in which they are now held, by the contradictory and false testimony imported into them whenever Coolies are concerned.

The view of Port of Spain, as we receded from the pier, was very fine, gradually expanding, till it embraced the northern mountains, the Dragon's Mouths, and the lofty promontory of Cumana and the Spanish Main. A few pelicans, fishing, enlivened the placid surface of the lake-like gulf; and here and there the white sails of a fishing sloop, or felucca, reflected with intense brightness the sun's burning rays, the sea catching from them the reflection, and repeating it in one long dazzling line of light. Earlier or later in the year, the shipping employed in the sugar trade would have given much more life to the scene. For several miles the coast is low and swampy, breeding malaria in the dank herbage, and among the contorted roots of the mangrove forests, which push forward their arms into the sea. At Couva, sugar cultivation begins; mills and cane-fields diversify the scene. The hill of Naparima is seen for a long distance, and below it nestles the neat and rapidly-growing borough of San Fernando, the chief town of the southern portion of the island. The hill of Naparima is of a conical form, some 700 feet high, and rises abruptly from the sea; its sides are covered with dwellings, almost lost to sight amid the thick foliage which shelters them from the scorching sun. To the right as you enter the open harbour is a singular rock, almost square, standing out alone in the sea.

Our steamer landed its passengers at a well-built jetty of timber, 300 feet in length. The wharf was crowded with people, and in crop-time is an exceedingly noisy and busy scene. Noise, chatter, loud laughter, and

merriment, are the characteristics of negro assemblages for business or amusement throughout the West Indies. After a short rest in the hospitable dwelling of an elder of the Presbyterian Church, the missionary, the Rev. W. H. Gamble, and I sallied forth to see the town. It winds about the base of the hill, till the main street is lost in the road which runs into the interior. At the upper part of the town two ravines break the lines of the streets, which run at right angles to the main street, and the slopes are dotted with the houses of the people. On a long elevation, to the right of the main street, are built the hospital, the Presbyterian and Wesleyan chapels, and the churches of the Anglican and Roman communions. The hospital, though small, is very airy, commodious, and open to the sea breeze. The ground on which the churches are built, has been set apart for religious purposes by the State; it forms a sort of ecclesiastical precinct for all denominations.

As elsewhere in the island, the Romanists here take the lead. At the time of our visit, the priest was an old soldier, of the first Napoleon's guard; and is said to manage the affairs of his parish with no inconsiderable amount of military rigour. Not long ago, a missionary preached a sermon in French; the priest immediately wrote him a threatening epistle, sternly forbidding him to repeat his attempt to reach the minds of the Catholic population. I entered the Romish church, and found it a wooden structure, under repair. The ornaments and pictures were tawdry and contemptible. The other churches and chapels are plain stone structures. The

Presbyterian cause is not flourishing among the Creoles, the labours of the missionary being chiefly confined to the few Scotch colonists of the district. The Wesleyan mission embraces the native population, and a good congregation has been gathered. Our own mission has had hitherto no place in this important and flourishing town. It is a feature of Trinidad legislation, that not only is the Government willing to give land to every denomination for its religious buildings, but chapels, churches, and ministers' houses are exempt from taxation. By the more rigid voluntaries of the island, exemptions, as well as compulsory exactions, are regarded as contrary to principle, and they unwillingly enjoy the boon. Such forms of Government assistance are, however, the least exceptional of any. They are a practical relief, without some of the pernicious effects of endowments.

About four o'clock, the sun's heat having declined, furnished with jack boots and other fit accoutrements for the ride, Mr. Gamble and a friend, with myself, set out for Savanna Grande. Winding round the Naparima hill, till the level of the country beyond was reached, we struck off to the eastward, along a fair metalled road, with here and there deep holes, passing a tramroad in course of construction, but then at a stand for want of funds. The road led through sugar estates, by the side of factories, and occasionally by rows of cottages erected for the Coolies, many of whom were met on their way to market. As the season for the manufacture was passed, the mills were silent; the mules and oxen usually employed in drawing cane were quietly

grazing in the pastures, or standing in the sheds provided for their shelter. The country lay before us in alternate low hills and hollows, the cane, in its bright green garb of foliage, covering the slopes. Some mills were on the hills, others in the bottoms; in either case, the inequalities of the ground rendering the labour of the cattle in drawing cane and sugar very severe. For six miles the road continued practicable for travelling; then came a section of three miles of deep mud, in which our horses floundered and plunged almost to their girths, to the danger of their riders. Frequently we sought a better path through adjacent fields, breaking through fences, jumping ditches, with abundant splashings of mud. Here and there a cart, with a team of ten or twelve oxen, essayed the passage; and in one place a wagon lay on its side hopelessly abandoned by its owner till drier times should come. We stopped for a few minutes at the mission station of Jarie, formed by an American society, but now abandoned, through the decease of the missionaries. Three graves, behind the house, were covered with the rank vegetation of the country—a sad memorial of their pious zeal and its disappointment. The small chapel is occasionally occupied by the Presbyterian minister of San Fernando, and the house is used for a change of residence during the cold season. The village itself is small, and the population scattered; there is a large number of Coolies on the estates in the neighbourhood. Many of the best sugar estates in the island are found on this road. The soil of the district is remarkably fertile; the sugar cane

ratoons, or grows again from the same stool, after cutting, for many years in succession. One planter mentioned to me a piece of cane field on which the cane had been cut, to his knowledge, for forty years, without requiring replanting; at the same time, little weeding is necessary.

Towards sunset we reached "The Mission," half-a-mile beyond which is the residence of our missionary. "The Mission" is a village which owes its origin to the Jesuits, who here planted a mission, or settlement, for the benefit of the aboriginal Indian inhabitants. The village retains the name of "The Mission," and has still its Catholic church; but the Indians have long abandoned it, a few only once a year coming over from the Continent of South America to pay a brief visit to the graves of their ancestors, and to gather the fruits of the forest in which they formerly lived. They bring with them a few rude baskets and mats for sale. The disappearance of the Indians is partly owing to their migration to the Continent, but much more to their absorption into the general population. The village is now inhabited by Negroes, Chinese, and Hindu Coolies labouring on the estates. There is an Episcopal church, which claims a considerable portion of the people as belonging to its communion. The Baptist missionary resides near, as a convenient centre, from which to visit the stations which have been formed in the neighbourhood. On reaching the mission-house—a neat building, entirely of wood, with a shingled roof—we found that our luggage had arrived before us; it had

been "crooked"—that is, carried by mules, from whose backs, on each side, hang stakes so crooked or shaped as to hold conveniently any load the animal may have to carry.

The next day was the Lord's-day; and it was arranged that I should visit the station on the Montserrat hills, to the north of "The Mission." Immediately after breakfast, Mr. Gamble and I mounted our horses. The road throughout was wretched in the extreme; in no part could the horses go faster than a slow walk. We had to cross several estates, and often the yards of the works were worse sloughs than the roads. The plank bridges which spanned the streams were much broken, and we had to dismount to cross them. Often we turned out of the way, to seek in bye-places a firmer path. Rain had fallen in the night, as well as during the week, so that the ground was everywhere soddened. A portion of the road lay through the original forest; the dense foliage of the trees was rendered more impenetrable by the numberless lianes and creepers which hung in graceful festoons from the branches, or bound, as with cords, the trunks and boughs together. By the time we reached the village, we were covered with splashes of mud from head and foot, and wet from the drippings of the trees.

The Montserrat settlement lies on the verge of the forest; the inhabitants are all negroes: some were brought hither as slaves from the Bahamas; but the greater number are of American origin, in common with the occupants of five other settlements in Savanna

Grande. These American negroes were originally soldiers, enlisted by the British from among the slaves of the Southern States in the last American war. As it was impossible, on the establishment of peace, to remit them again to slavery, some thousands were disbanded in the West Indies, and settled on Crown lands in the various colonies. Six companies, of about eighty men each, became backwoodsmen in this division of Trinidad, each family receiving the gift of sixteen acres of land. A few of the old colonists are still living; but the larger number are the children of the original settlers. For many years after their settlement, they were greatly neglected; those who laboured on the estates were treated no better than slaves; the more active and independent found remunerative labour on the roads. Since freedom, they have gained a livelihood as lumberers, opening the forest to the sugar grower, and clearing the soil for the regular operations of agriculture. While embodied in the army, a little religious instruction was given them by the military chaplains; but, located in forests hitherto untrodden by civilized men, they were deprived of all religious instruction; even the outward forms of Christianity had almost entirely disappeared. Some relapsed into Mohammedanism, under the guidance of three Mandingo priests, brought to the island as slaves. One of them could read, and was accustomed to communicate to his followers scraps of the Koran that he had copied.

At the commencement of our mission, these settlements were visited by Mr. Cowen. Notwithstanding

their state of spiritual destitution, he found a few who remembered the truths they had heard in America, and were attached to the faith and order of the Baptist churches among which they had formerly lived. These gladly received the missionary, often visited him at his residence, and speedily commenced the erection of a small chapel. One remarked that "they had been holding on, and looking up to God for a minister for twenty-eight years." In 1848, three churches had been formed, consisting of about eighty members. Of the three men who became preachers amongst them, one had been flogged in America, thirty years before, for conducting a prayer-meeting with his fellow-slaves. The chapel in which I met the people at Montserrat had been built by their own hands, with a little assistance from the Society. Still the progress of the work was slow; and it was not until after the death of Mr. Cowen that the fruit of his self-denying labours began abundantly to appear. In 1854 the Spirit of God was poured out on the people, and at all the stations numerous converts were baptized. A short time before my arrival, there had however been a withdrawal of many from the missionary's charge. An American negro introduced the wild and fanatical notions and practices so frequent in the camp-meetings of the Southern States, and so powerfully described by Mrs. Stowe in the tale of "Dred." Jumpings were mingled with prayers, and the songs of the sanctuary degenerated into discordant shouts. The natural result followed:

the congregations were broken up, and for a time the labours of years seemed destroyed.

These follies did not, however, reach Montserrat; under the watchful care of the native pastor, Mr. Webb, the church abode in peace. The chapel was full of people awaiting our arrival. Though wet and very dirty, we immediately commenced the service: I addressed them from Luke xv. 10. Towards its close, some symptoms of excitement betrayed the emotional character of the people, and I rather hastily concluded. One woman swayed her body from side to side, and was scarcely held on the seat by her neighbours. The communion followed, of which thirty persons partook. I detained the church for a time, and conversed with them on their position, duties, and prospects. Their pastor acts as schoolmaster during the week. Every Sunday contributions are made for his support, which usually amount to about two dollars, or 8*s.* 4*d.*, a month. This sum, with a small allowance from the Society, and the produce of a piece of land which he cultivates, affords him a fair livelihood. He is an estimable man, somewhat better educated than most of his class; his people appear to love and esteem him. The church numbers forty-three in full communion; fourteen others are under discipline. Irregular habits and unchastity are, the usual causes of church censure, which is faithfully carried out by the pastor. The exercise of this power is of no slight value in cultivating a higher sense of morality amongst these dwellers in the wilderness, for the action

of the church affects the inhabitants of the village, and a standard of purity and rectitude is held before them of great spiritual and social advantage.

It was nearly three o'clock before we could leave and return on our picturesque path. The scenery would have been far more interesting could we have examined it; but the incessant attention to our horses' movements, called for by the miry depths of the swamps, not roads, we had to traverse, deprived us of much of the enjoyment. This station is on a range of hills, of varied elevation, sometimes rising into mountains, which here runs across the island, and separates the northern portion from the great plains of the central districts. As we passed by the Roman Catholic church, the church built for the use of the Caribs, a rude structure of wood, the churchyard was thronged with spectators of the funeral of a Chinese. Many Chinese Coolies have married among the Creoles, who are mostly Catholics, and have embraced Romanism. From these alliances and their offspring, come most of the converts which the priests claim to make.

The predominating influence of Popery and of the Church of England, the latter of which has a rector resident in "The Mission," has rendered the efforts of our missionaries to establish a congregation here unavailing; and, about a year before my arrival, the small chapel which had been erected was sold. Though in some respects the mission-house, lying about half a mile from the road, is centrally situated for the American settlements, it can be reached only by a path which for eight

months in the year is wellnigh impassable from the rains, except on horseback, or, as in native fashion, with bare feet and legs. It has therefore become an important question whether the missionary should not remove into San Fernando, where, among a large, increasing, and always accessible population, there is an amount of missionary work to be done, which at "The Mission" is not attainable.

The heavy rain in the night did not prevent our visiting a neighbouring estate on the following morning. About 250 acres are under sugar cultivation, employing seventy-two Coolies, beside Creole boiler-men, drivers, coopers, etc. The canes looked well, and the land clean; but a considerable portion of the estate, at least 250 acres, is still forest. Last year the produce was 340 hogsheads of sugar, the largest quantity the estate has ever made, owing partly to good management, as well as to a favourable season. The cane is crushed between iron cylinders, put in motion by a steam engine of ten or twelve horse power. The boiling house and vats are well arranged, though somewhat roughly fixed. Steam engines are becoming very common on estates in this quarter; but a planter assured me that the old cattle mill paid better. This can hardly be the case, unless the quantity of cane grown and crushed is much below the capacity of the steam mill. Usually, the cattle mill is "put about" earlier in the morning, and sontinues to work later at night than the steam engine, in order to dispose of the crop. From its slow movement, the field hands are able to supply its demand without

much pressure ; but it is only with great exertion that the ordinary hands and mules of an estate can cut and carry canes fast enough for the voracity of a steam engine. It therefore works fewer hours. If it be not worked up to its capacity, of course the advantage of steam power is brought down to the level of the slower machine. But where cane is abundant, the labourers numerous, and water ample in quantity, the turn out of a steam mill is very much more, and the percentage of saccharine matter from 16 to 20 per cent. greater from the same quantity of cane. The increased expense of working is more than compensated by the larger produce, while the losses from changes of weather are less.

All the Coolies that I saw on the estate looked in good condition. Their employer speaks well of them. They are contented, and save money. Their dwellings, to say the least, are better than the common hut of India, in which I have seen the same class of people vegetating as ryots. I did not hear any complaints of hard usuage or injustice. The few women among them looked happy enough, nursing their little ones on the hip, as in India, dipping their lotahs in the ponds, and by no means unwilling to take a daily task in the cane field. A task is a certain measured quantity of weeding, for which the wage is tenpence. Two, or even three tasks, can be got through in a day; and not a few do more than is required of them by their indentures. Their agreement is for three years, and after remaining in the colony for two years more, working on an estate of their own choice, they are entitled to a certificate of industrial residence,

and at the end of ten years to a free passage back to their own country. They are said, in many instances, to save half their earnings; and certainly may do so where they avoid that bane of the Coolie's life in Trinidad—the rum shop. Unfortunately rum shops abound, notwithstanding the high rate (120 dollars a year) charged for licences, and numbers become very intemperate.* The spirit stores are kept mostly by Coolies, who have served their time, and are free to remain, or to leave the colony, as they please. Chinese Coolies usually abandon estate work on the first opportunity, and become shopkeepers, or growers of provisions, which they sell to great advantage, as nearly the whole of the ground provisions consumed in Trinidad is imported.

With one exception, I could not learn that anything has been done for the moral or spiritual well-being of these immigrants from other lands: one planter has selected an educated Coolie to be a schoolmaster on his estate. No wonder that the idolatrous and superstitious practices of the countries from which they come are being introduced. There are a few Gurus and Brahmins among the Coolies. On one estate a rude temple has been set up; while the Mohammedans celebrate the Mohurram on a day in the month of August. The tazzias of India reappear on the hills of Trinidad, and are thrown, at the close of the festival, into the rivers

* I was informed that in the quarter of Savanna Grande alone, containing a population of 16,000 persons, the consumption of rum in one year has reached the frightful quantity of 70,000 gallons.

or the sea. I did not find that any of the pure Hindu holidays, such as the durgah poojah, are kept. The Christian sabbath is observed on the estates. The rules of caste are partially obeyed, but the voyage, and the new life into which the Hindus come, have greatly modified many of their national habits and usages. It is deeply to be regretted that no Christian missionary labours among them: they are favourably circumstanced to receive Christian instruction, as many of their attachments to idolatry must be loosened by the new condition in which they are placed. I was assured by the agent for immigration, that the Government would gladly give free passages to native catechists and their families from India, and several proprietors of estates expressed a readiness to provide the means of their support.

The ordinary work of the estates is almost entirely done by Coolies. The Creole negroes generally refuse to become servants on the plantations, or to bind themselves by any permanent engagement: any kind of obligation which limits their independence is avoided. Not that they object to do the same work that the Coolies perform, for, at some seasons of the year, when their provision grounds do not require their attention, or when coin must be had to pay taxes or rents, they will readily contract to clear pieces of cane—as contractors, however, and not as servants. But they are mostly employed at higher wages than Coolies, to do work requiring greater strength, more skill, or prolonged exertion. They cut down the forests, clear away bush,

dig drains and trenches, plant hedges, make hogsheads, work as carpenters, machinists, boiler-men, drive the teams, etc.; employments of a more remunerative kind than that which the ordinary field hands of the estates engage in. Planters generally say they are idle, and will not work unless their necessities compel them. In this, doubtless, they follow the habits of labourers in all parts of the world: industry has its root in necessity, not in the mere love of labour. It is, however, true that the negroes of Trinidad betray a prejudice against mere field work, probably the effect of their servile condition in the time of slavery: neither do they cultivate their own land much beyond what is sufficient for their wants. They add little or nothing to the exports of the country; the cacao bean seems to be the only staple which they attempt to cultivate. But their indifference to servile labour is chiefly owing to the ease with which a living can be obtained, to the fertility of the soil, and to the high rate of wages, averaging, for the artizan classes a dollar (4s. 2d.) a-day, and among labourers, from 1s. 8d. to 2s. 6d. Compared with their condition in the time of slavery, it is a vastly improved one. They dress well; some possess horses of their own; they have a manly and independent bearing, and appear happy, contented, and well-to-do. Generally they are tall, strong, well grown, and healthy. If one may judge by their fondness for show, and efforts to make a good appearance, they must labour with some assiduity. They are fond of going to markets; the women expose for sale fruit and ground provisions, in small quantities,

at their doors, or on stalls in the markets and by the way-side. But the produce brought for sale is very inadequate to the consumption, and the main articles of food—such as yams, tanias, maize, plantains, sweet potatoes, flour, cattle, and salt fish—are brought in large quantities from Venezeula, Grenada, Tobago, and the United States. Although the soil and climate of Trinidad are admirably suited to the growth of every kind of tropical fruit and ground provisions, the planters, as well as the people, are content to be dependent on foreign supplies.

The reason of this neglect of food agriculture obviously is, that the energies of the population are absorbed in the cultivation and manufacture of sugar. The export of this staple has now reached 40,000 hogsheads annually, and that with a population in the whole island of not more than 70,000 persons.* Few, therefore, can be spared for any other employment; while the profits and wages are such as to enable all classes to purchase foreign produce at the enhanced rates which the cost of importation entails. The planters say that it will not pay them to grow provisions, and the back carriage from the coast enables them to carry to their estates lumber and bread-stuff at very little cost. That the Creole negro is a better workman than the Coolie, is

* The great increase in the production of sugar may be seen from the following facts. In 1831 (three years before emancipation), there was imported into England, from Trinidad, 327,167 cwts.; in 1835 (the first year of apprenticeship), 289,303 cwts.; in 1840 (the second year of entire freedom), 245,788 cwts.; in 1850 (when Coolie immigration began to tell on the production), 306,220 cwts.; in 1854, 537,280 cwts.; in 1858, 549,626 cwts.

evident from the fact, that the Creole earns, in sixteen days, somewhat more than the Coolie does in nineteen; while labourers are attracted from other islands to assist in securing the crop. A further proof of the prosperity of the planters is this—that the cultivation is rapidly extending; fresh land is every year brought under the hoe and the plough, as fast as new importations of labourers will allow.

A ride through the Fairfield estate, which is in a high state of cultivation, brought us to the settlement of the Sixth Company, called Matilda Boundary. The road was a rough and wild one; in many places the bush choked the small plots of the settlers. The cottages are usually built on the tops of the hills, or in hollows where the depth of soil encourages cultivation. Each cottage has its patch of maize, its plantain garden, and often rice growing between the rows of Indian corn. The rude chapel is built of rough timber, and thatched; it stands alone, although not far removed from the dwellings of the people. The members of the church here are but few; a short time ago, the church was broken up through the exercise of discipline on one of the leaders, and for a few weeks the chapel had been closed. The leaders, although they may be illiterate men, have great influence among the people, very few of whom can read; but there is an independence of mind, and a manly good sense about them, which fits them to conduct their own affairs, and to a considerable extent provide for their own spiritual wants. One old man, a fine, tall negro, repeated very accurately the third chap-

ter of Matthew, to shew me that, although unable to read, he held fast in memory portions of the word of God. We gathered the people together, and after much conversation it was finally arranged that the meetings should recommence under the guidance of a leader chosen by the people, the missionary visiting them from time to time, assisting them with advice, and instructing them in the gospel. This arrangement has been carried out, and since my return to England, I learn that peace and prosperity have returned to the station.

On the following day, accompanied by Mr. Gamble and Mr. Webb, I rode to New Grant, the settlement of the First Company. The ride through the woods was beautiful, and the views from the elevated ridges were fine and extensive; on the one hand, the land declining southwards in a succession of hill and valley, and on the other, the mountains of Montserrat presenting a grand outline of forest and hill top; but the road was horrible. On our way we passed a school-house and church of the Establishment. The mission chapel is a neat wooden structure, raised on low piles, and roofed with carat palm, as indeed all the chapels are, and generally the houses too. Thence we went on to visit the leader, whom I found to be an old man, slow in manner, but of sound sense. It was in his congregation the extravagances already alluded to began, and for a time broke up the church: a large number withdrew. At first the seceders proposed to build a chapel; but the

attempt failed. I left matters in train for a rëunion, and since my return, Mr. Gamble writes that he has had the pleasure of reconstituting the church. The chapel was well filled, and the Lord's Supper observed with great solemnity.

My visits to these country stations were completed by a journey to the settlement of the Third Company. A very pleasant ride through the woods brought us to one of the neatest chapels I had seen—the entire work of the people themselves: it was built of cedar, and shingled; and with its pointed windows, and high roof, bore quite an ecclesiastical appearance. It was surrounded by an open country. The lands of the settlers were cleaner and better cultivated than any I had seen. About 150 people, summoned by the sounding of a conch shell, met us, filling the chapel; all well-dressed, and many coming on horseback. They have several leaders, but the chief is a Mr. Richardson. For some time past they have stood aloof from the missionary, a position which originated, as in the cases referred to already, in the introduction of fanatical excesses among them: as these subsided, a better feeling prevailed, and at length order was re-established. Some hesitation to place themselves under the missionary's guidance remained, partly from misapprehension, partly from a notion that the missionary would set aside the leaders, and assume the entire direction of the church. I suggested that they should receive an occasional visit from the missionary, that some of their young men

should visit him for instruction, and that a school should be commenced. It was not our wish to substitute for their own exertions the labour of the missionary, but rather to help them in their endeavours to attain a higher degree of instruction and piety. They very cheerfully and cordially responded to my suggestions. Mr. Richardson, a man of strong sense, though very uncultivated, expressed much pleasure at our visit, and his earnest desire to embrace the proposals which had been made. This too has been accomplished, and the missionary has resumed his labours amongst them with a cheering prospect of success.

It now remained to consider the question of the best locality for the missionary, having in view both the oversight of these country churches, and the extension of the gospel in the district. The town of San Fernando appeared to me as the place which should be made the seat of the mission; and a day was spent in walking over it, in calling on some of the people, and in examining its facilities for missionary purposes. "The Mission" has failed as a missionary station, and from the situation of the missionary's residence, during the rainy season much time was either wasted in reaching the villages, or unemployed from the impossibility of moving about. On the contrary, in San Fernando, a large population is always accessible. When the season may prevent the missionary from visiting the country settlements, he has in the town an ample field for his exertions. It is rapidly growing in population, at present numbering 4000 persons, and is the social and

commercial centre of this part of the island.* Hither the people come, from the region round about, to dispose of their produce, to attend market, and to furnish themselves with supplies.†

The nucleus of a congregation already exists in San Fernando; with the exception of the Wesleyans, no active measures are taken by any religious body to stem the torrent of iniquity, or to evangelize the various classes of the people. There is ample room for more missionaries; while Couva, and Point à Pierre are within easy distance. For these reasons, I have urged on the committee the removal of the missionary to San Fernando; a recommendation which has been adopted, and is now carried out. A plot of ground has been purchased in an elevated and healthy spot, the house removed from "The Mission," and re-erected upon it; and Mr. Gamble has commenced his missionary labours in the town with very encouraging prospects of success.

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* All the produce of the interior has its outlet at this port; probably three-fourths of the sugar grown in Trinidad is shipped here.

† The population is a very heterogeneous one; English, Scotch, Creoles of every shade of colour, Chinese, Hindus, and Mussulmans, mix together and carry on trade. In one large store, I found the proprietor to be a native of Orissa, in Bengal. He left his country early in life, but had a distinct recollection of Juggernath of Puri. He had been ten or twelve years in the colony, and is a prosperous man. His wife and daughters were laden with anklets, armlets, necklaces, of massive silver; and his shop was well stocked. He said that Trinidad was a good place to make money, but complained that the dearness of food was a great deduction from his gains.

CHAPTER IV.

The Pitch Lake—La Brea—Sugar Planters—Coolie Labourers—Immigration—Emancipation—Its Results—The Sugar Act of 1845—Lord Harris's Government—Immigration Ordinances—African Immigration—Coolie Immigration—Chinese Immigrants—Present Immigration Law—Its Working—General Results—Advantages—Drawbacks.

We could not leave this part of the island without paying a visit to that very remarkable phenomenon of nature, the Pitch Lake of La Brea. A party of friends was formed in Port of Spain (among whom I must mention the Rev J. Brodie, whose christian affection and kindness, on this and other occasions, I most gratefully record), and we joined them on board the gulf steamer, on its arrival at the jetty of San Fernando. An hour's run on the placid waters of the gulf, brought us to a low promontory, formed by the flow of the pitch from the lake into the sea. The shore was black, and strewed with nodules of pitch. After a brief delay, a cart was obtained, a plank for crossing fissures and runnels of water, and, with a few refreshments, we set forth. A gradual ascent of about a mile, along a road formed by the pitch, brought us to the borders of the lake, or rather lagoon. On either side of the black road,

the grass grows luxuriantly; some low hills skirted it at a little distance. At the edge of the lake we dismounted, and laden with the plank, set out to cross it. At first the surface was undulating and hard; but gradually became soft as we neared the centre, where we found the pitch in a state of ebullition, boiling up, and spreading itself slowly about. The ebullition, however, was not very active, and the pitch had considerable viscidity and consistence. There was a good deal of water in the hollows, generally fresh to the taste, but occasionally brackish. When cut, the pitch had a vesicular appearance, and soon hardened; in some places it was very hot to the feet. The fissures were of all widths and depths, from a few inches to many feet; and always ending in a sharp line at the lowest part. In some places, bubbles of gas were freed from the surface of the water. To the presence of this sulphurous acid gas, fermenting in the bituminous mass, is owing the vesicular appearance of the pitch when cut.

Numerous small islets of vegetation interrupt the view of the entire lagoon; on these grow logwood-trees, different sorts of cacti, reeds, and low creepers; among which are seen to play, the sparkling humming-bird, the gaudy butterfly, and the emerald-tinted lizard. The lake is about a mile and a half across in its widest part. The heat of the sun increased the softness of the surface, so that the impressions of our feet were long apparent, and in a few places we were unable to find footing at all, from the liquid state of the asphalte. The centre of the lake is somewhat higher than the edge, which it slowly

overflows. Near the sea, a house, the posts of which had been driven into the pitch, showed, by its inclination, the direction of the flow.

Scientific men are not agreed as to the origin of this remarkable phenomenon; some think it arises from constant volcanic action, of which Trinidad bears many traces; others conceive that the asphalte is derived from beds of lignite, or coal; the existence of which in the island is certain. Not being consolidated into hard masses, the lignite, it is supposed, is squeezed out by the pressure of more elevated strata. Little has been done to make this inexhaustible mass of pitch available for useful purposes. An American firm erected works a short time ago, to manufacture oil, for illuminating and lubricating purposes; but the unhealthiness of the place forced them to discontinue their operations. There is a private person in Port of Spain, shipping yearly considerable quantities to France, where it is employed in the manufacture of artificial pavement; but the dearness of labour creates a great difficulty in the way of extending the trade.

I walked back to the landing-place, and on the way called at one of the ward schools; there were some thirty or forty boys enjoying their hour of play; the school-room was well provided with maps and the requisite apparatus of tuition. In the village of La Brea, I found a small Roman Catholic church; as it was open, I entered. The ornaments were tinsel, and the pictures were prints daubed with colour. Here, as elsewhere, the priests have the reputation of being "jolly good fellows," as my informant laughingly said.

Before leaving the district we were hospitably entertained by a planter, whose long residence in the island gave great value to his information. He holds a local situation under the Government, and is the manager of two or three estates. His house stands on a very pretty knoll, in a hollow, near the works. The garden was filled with the flowers and fruits of the country. There was an attractive order and neatness about the place, very characteristic of the prosperous Englishman; and the Coolies about had a healthy and contented look. Other planters came in to breakfast. One had come from the island of Grenada, to purchase one or more sugar estates; and had, therefore, been visiting several that were for sale. The testimony of all was, that the cultivation of sugar, at the present time, is very profitable, although carried on at a heavy cost, and with a large outlay. The only want is labour; with abundant labour, Trinidad could produce any amount of sugar; and even with its present small population, is rapidly going ahead of the other islands of the West Indies. Immense tracts of country, admirably calculated for the growth of the sugar cane, remain covered with the original forests, and the virgin soil untilled. The cost of the cultivation and manufacture of sugar, including all expenses, was stated to be about £10 a ton: some say more, but this is the experience of good and successful managers. The expense of immigration, the dearness of provisions and lumber, and the high wages, higher than in any other island, render the manufacture very costly, only made remunerative by the fertility of the soil and the abundance of the crops.

On our voyage to Port of Spain from this fertile district, I again met the Grenada planter. He went very carefully and minutely with me into the cost of the production of sugar, basing his calculations on the books of one of the estates he had inspected. Including every item of expenditure that could be thought of, with interest on the primary outlay, he concluded that the outside cost would be £10 a ton, agreeing with my previous information. He said that Trinidad was far more prosperous than Grenada, notwithstanding that food and labour were cheaper in the latter. By some mistake immigration had failed in Grenada. He was sure, that at present rates, sugar could be made to pay a profit of, at least, £5 a ton.

In Port of Spain, I enjoyed still further intercourse with gentlemen engaged in sugar cultivation. One was an unofficial member of the Council of the colony, and is highly esteemed: he is a large employer of immigrant labour. He spoke well of the Coolies from Calcutta; but the Madras immigrants, especially the last ship-load, had turned out ill. These generally understood a little English, and those who knew our language best, were the worst of all. In fact, these Madrassees consisted of the sweepings and criminals of the Presidency town. He expressed an anxious desire for the best welfare of the Coolies; and, so far as their treatment in the colony is concerned, he assured me that everything was done for them that could be done by Government. Deaths among the children of the Coolies are rare; in this respect affording a marked

contrast to the mortality prevalent among the infants of Creoles. This may be owing to the medical attendance secured to the Coolies by law; but which can be enjoyed by the Creoles only on paying for it. The women are quite willing to work in the fields, and usually take one task a-day; but this is not compulsory. The Coolies on the estates usually form themselves into messes, one man providing the food, cooking it, and charging each man a fair proportion of the cost. In this way they live cheaply, and, if they do not addict themselves to rum drinking, they are able to save a good portion of their earnings. There are some who, in addition, cultivate and sell provisions sufficient for their maintenance, and thus save all their earnings on the estate. Wages are universally paid in coin, and, for the most part, fortnightly. The truck system is not practised; the few attempts to introduce it were at once suppressed by the immigration agent.

The question of immigration is a momentous one for Trinidad. The present degree of cultivation of sugar depends on the immigrants already imported, and its extension is only limited by the numbers who, in future years, may be induced to go. Science may do much to improve the culture of the soil, and to increase the quantity of saccharine matter obtained from a given weight of cane; but on an ample supply of labour hangs the prosperity of Trinidad.

The island was ill prepared for emancipation. The term of apprenticeship had been wasted by the planters, in exacting the utmost amount of work from the

prospective free labourer. It was in vain that Lord Glenelg, in 1836, laid open the inevitable consequences of that event, and entreated the local Legislature to prepare for its coming. It was foreseen by him, that in the transition, the value of property would be affected, and the more permanent interests of society might be endangered, if precautionary measures were not taken. The planters were told that, whereas during slavery they had the command of labour, in a state of freedom labour would be obtained only as the real or apparent interests of the labourer were consulted. It was held to be probable that the abundance and cheapness of land would attract the labourer to its cultivation for his own advantage, and would lead him to avoid the steady toilsome work of the sugar estate; that not until an increased population pressed on the means of easy subsistence from the provision grounds, the fertility of which yields to a small amount of toil an ample supply of food, would the Creole resort to the planters for employment, and the staple of the island be again largely produced. Cultivated land, and the capital involved in its cultivation, would become depreciated in value, unless measures were taken to prevent easy access to the vast quantity of untilled land the island contains. Lord Glenelg therefore proposed, that suitable regulations should be made to check the acquisition of land in too large a quantity by the enfranchised labourers, in order that the labour market should not be suddenly disorganized.

Wise measures, moreover, for the moral and social welfare of the people were demanded. But emancipation found the Government of the island, the planters, and the labourers, all alike unready; and the emancipated slave entered on the state of freedom perfectly untrammelled by any laws, unbound by any obligations, and without any provision for his education or religious improvement. The absence of religious discord, of any combinations among the planters, like the celebrated Colonial Union of Jamaica, of any class in the island capable of hindering the Government from adopting such measures as it pleased, rendered the course of the authorities a comparatively easy one; but nothing was done. The Act of Emancipation took the island by surprise: the planters say that they had only four days' notice that, on the 1st August, 1838, their apprentices would absolutely be free. It is no wonder that, for a few days, all was suspense and anxiety. The slaves, at first, were incredulous; then rushed in frenzy together, and, for some hours, the Governor and his subordinates dreaded an outbreak of vengeance and retaliation. The occasion might have been a day of unmingled joy, had the island possessed a body of Christian men, with influence over the enfranchised people to lead them to the house of God, there, on their knees, to receive the boon of freedom, like that which, in other islands, directed the jubilant feelings of the people into worship and thanksgiving to the Lord and Ruler of men.

The results foreseen came to pass. Three years after emancipation, in 1841, the condition of the island was

most deplorable: the labourers had for the most part abandoned the estates, and taken possession of plots of vacant land, especially in the vicinity of the towns, without purchase or lawful right. Vagrancy had become an alarming habit of great numbers; every attempt to take a census of the population was baffled by the frequent migrations which took place. Criminals easily evaded justice by absconding to places where they were unknown, or by hiding themselves in the dense forests which in all parts edged so closely on the cleared lands. Drunkenness increased to an enormous degree, assisted by planters who freely supplied rum to the labourers, to induce them to remain as cultivators on their estates. High wages were obtained, only to be squandered in amusement, revelry, and dissipation; at the same time, these high wages induced a diminished cultivation of food, and a corresponding increase in price and in the importation of provisions from the neighbouring islands and continent. The labourers steadily refused to enter into any contracts which would oblige them to remain in the service of a master: this would too much have resembled the state of slavery from which they had but just emerged. It was with reference to this state of things that Lord Harris wrote in 1848:—"One of the many errors which have been committed since the granting of emancipation, is the little attention paid to any legislation having for its end the formation of a society, on true, sound, and lasting principles. As the question at present stands, a race has been freed; but a society has not been formed. Liberty has been given

to a heterogeneous mass of individuals, who can only comprehend license,—a partition in the rights, and privileges, and duties of civilized society has been granted to them; they are only capable of enjoying its vices."* "In no part of the West Indies," said a traveller among them in the winter of 1843, five years after emancipation, "have I found the lower classes so benighted, idle, and depraved. Compared indeed with their brethren in those islands where missionary operations have been more abundant, they are at the present moment in a state but little removed from that in which the former were found fifty years ago."†

Some efforts were, however, made to check the nomadic tendency of the population. A vagrant law was passed two months after emancipation, and an ordinance to prevent squatting soon after. The laws of contract were, from time to time, modified, and if in some respects they were made very stringent, yet they served partially to retain the labourers on the estates. These laws were probably intended rather to coerce labour than to regulate it; and in this attempt at coercion lay the chief cause of their failure. The disposition of the Creoles to settle away from the estates could not be controlled; scattered settlements were formed in wild districts, far away from all civilizing influences, which became the

* The West Indies before and since Emancipation, by John Davy, M.D. pp. 311, 312.

† Rev. J. M. Phillippo, Missionary Herald, 1844, p. 574. See also the evidence of the Rev. J. H. Hamilton, a clergyman, in Burnley's Trinidad, p. 61.

abode of the idle, the dissolute, and the criminal. This dispersion was at length stayed by a territorial ordinance, under which the people could obtain legal possession of the Crown lands at moderate rates.* Small freeholds were created in the vicinity of the towns, and ultimately numerous schools were opened among the dwellings of the people.† But even in 1850, Lord Harris could report that "a seventh of the whole population of the colony, nearly a fourth of the adult population, and more than half of the total population," of Port of Spain, the chief town of the island, "are composed of persons of the lower ranks of life, and having no visible means of gaining an existence."‡ Of late years, the development of sugar cultivation has been very rapid, the quantity of sugar now exported being far in excess of that exported during the first years of freedom. The Creoles have participated in this prosperity, although they have not assisted largely in its production. Not one fourth of the persons employed on the estates are natives of the island; but there has grown up among them a consider-

* Squatters might purchase Crown land at twenty shillings an acre. *Parl. Paper, No.* 280, 1848, *p.* 38.

† From a return given by Lord Harris, it appears that, in 1848, there were not more than 4878 small proprietors—that is, Creoles possessing portions of land, however small; and in all the villages only 834 houses; so that the settlement of the people on freeholds had gone on very slowly. About 5000 remained on the estates, and a very large number of the people were without any settled dwelling-place. *Parl. Return, No.* 280, *for the year* 1849, *Part* 2, *p.* 8. The population was reckoned at 60,000. A vast number of the huts were simply of mud and palm leaves. The towns of Port of Spain and San Fernando are not included in the above reckoning.

‡ Lord Grey's Colonial Policy, vol. i. p. 137.

able body of artisans—such as carpenters, coopers, builders, and tailors; they invariably constitute the roadmakers, and almost monopolize the higher kinds of manual employment.

During the first eight years after emancipation, the planters struggled not unsuccessfully with the difficulties which followed the falling off of Creole labour. The high price of sugar in these years created competition, and the high rate of wages which accompanied it attracted a very large supply of labour from the neighbouring islands. But the passing of the Sugar Act, in the Imperial Parliament, in 1845, brought upon the planters great distress, and in many instances ruin. In two years nearly all the Scotch and English houses were struck down. Sixty-four petitions of insolvency were filed. Estates were put up to sale, and no purchasers could be found.* Many were abandoned for want of capital to work them; and in May, 1848, the Colonial Treasury was reported to be absolutely empty. Doubtless a portion of this distress was owing to unskilful cultivation, to extravagant expenditure encouraged by a system of protection, and especially to the commercial crisis of 1847, which affected English and Colonial interests throughout the world. By various financial expedients, Lord Harris tided over this year of gloom; and in the following year, a substantial improvement in the financial and industrial prospects of the

* From a speech of the Attorney General of Trinidad. Davy, p. 313.

colony began to shew itself.* Wages fell, but labour was more in demand than before. Reduction in wages, with improved methods of cultivation, enabled the planters in some measure to meet the competition; but their rapid recovery from the depression into which the industry of the island had fallen, was chiefly owing to the successful introduction of immigrants. The wise administration of Lord Harris greatly conduced to the subsequent prosperity. He urged on improvements in the roads, made the administration of justice more facile and fair, and reformed the police. Municipal bodies were created, and the foundations were laid of a well-administered scheme of general education. The memory of Lord Harris's government is still fragrant in the colony, and many speak of those days as among the brightest the colony has seen; for hope sustained exertion, and prosperity attended the measures that were taken.

I have said above that the prosperity of Trinidad is chiefly owing to the additional supply of labour obtained by immigration. As this question is one of great interest, and continues to be debated with much difference of opinion in this country, it may be expected of me to give the results of my inquiries and observations: this I proceed to do.

Two years before emancipation, so largely did the

* Lord Grey's Colonial Policy, p. 181, vol. i.

cultivation of sugar surpass the population that would naturally be employed upon it, that a thousand Africans liberated from the holds of slave ships, were landed in Trinidad to meet the demand for labour, and distributed among the planters. The defection of the enfranchised from the estates, forced upon the planters and the existing local government, if the sugar cultivation were to be maintained, the necessity of immediately replacing the loss by labourers from other parts. Immigration was first carried on by private individuals; but it was soon taken up by the local authorities, under an ordinance that came into operation on the 1st of January, 1839. This ordinance was annulled in April, and another was soon after passed, with amendments by the Colonial Office. Encouraged by the high rate of wages, a large number of immigrants came voluntarily from the neighbouring islands; others were induced to come by shipmasters, and planters, who received a bounty on every individual imported. Between January 1st, 1839, and June 30th, 1841, 3879 individuals were brought in, and paid for at a cost to the colony of £12,637. It was estimated that 4000 more had entered the island, either paying their own passages, or franked by planters who had engaged their services. Among these were 1200 Germans and Maltese, so widely had the demand for labour been made known. The bounty, or head money, paid to ship captains on the immigrants they introduced, led to a great deal of fraud; and the refusal of the

Colonial Office to sanction a contract law, oppressive in its character, but intended to secure the services of the immigrant to the planter who had paid his passage, occasioned great dissatisfaction, and led to the abandonment of these methods of increasing the labouring population. Some of the immigrants throve well; but many had to complain of ill treatment, the want of medical aid, and the capriciousness of the managers of the estates, who, on the change of season, or the interruptions of weather, immediately discharged their labourers.

The Parliamentary Committee of 1842, having expressed itself favourable to the introduction of immigrants from the west coast of Africa, Lord Stanley (now Earl of Derby) sanctioned arrangements for the transport of liberated slaves from Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and the colony set apart a sum of £15,000 per annum, from the Colonial Treasury, to meet the cost. The number introduced under this arrangement, in 1842 and 1843, was only 858. The scheme was a failure, owing chiefly to the disallowance of an ordinance, hastily passed, to meet the case of some 233 liberated Africans, brought from St. Helena: they were to be placed under compulsory contracts, without the slightest freedom of choice as to employment, employer, or locality.

India was now resorted to as the land of hope. The first cargo of Coolies, from Calcutta, arrived at Port of Spain, in the "Fattel Rosack," on the 30th May, 1845. "Other vessels followed in succession; and, in May,

1848, 5162 Coolies had been landed in the island."* The regulations proposed by Lord Harris, in 1846, for the management of this immigration, were disallowed. In the following year, however, the suggestions substituted by Lord Grey, were framed into an ordinance for the protection of the immigrants. The result was again a failure. The liberated Africans, who were brought from Western Africa, refused to work, absconded from their employers, and took to the woods, subsisting partly by plunder of the neighbouring estates, partly by cultivating the land on which they squatted. A settlement which I visited near Port of Spain, consists almost entirely of this class of immigrants, still living a worthless life, addicted to revelry and drunkenness. A few actually supposed that, by travelling eastwards, they should reach their native land. They had not been made to understand the conditions on which they were engaged at Sierra Leone.

Many of the new Coolies followed their example. The first importations appear to have conducted themselves well; but the later ones are said to have consisted of the refuse of Indian society, being drawn from jails and the lowest population of Indian cities. They were, moreover, placed in new circumstances, called to labour at an unaccustomed employment, and the obligations imposed by the ordinance sat lightly both upon the employer and the employed. Great numbers died in

* Trinidad: Its Geography, Natural Resources, &c., by L. A. A. De Verteuil, M.D., p. 371.

the public hospitals, "and not a few," says Lord Grey, "by the waysides and in the woods." It is clear that, on the one hand, the dread lest the planters should coerce the labourers, so as to reduce them to a condition little better than slaves, rendered the action of the Government both feeble and hesitating; on the other hand, again to quote the words of Earl Grey, the Government laboured under very serious difficulties as to the proper "treatment of immigrants belonging to savage or half-civilized races, whose unfitness for unrestrained liberty is not generally understood, or acknowledged in this country."* The sufferings of the Coolies were largely enhanced by the depressed state of the planters, consequent on the free-trade policy of the Imperial Parliament, which, in 1848, produced general insolvency, the destruction of capital, and the ruin of a large number of the estates; and probably contributed more to the misery which overtook the immigrants, than any defect in the legislation which controlled their actions. For how could they be fed or supported, when their employers were themselves, in very numerous cases, reduced to penury? Immigration, under such circumstances, might well be deprecated. There were, doubtless, faults on both sides. The Coolies were ill-treated by the planters; while, to savages and half-civilized people, was granted the most unrestrained liberty—a liberty not enjoyed in any civilized com-

* Verteuil, p. 376.

munity on earth. With the revelations in their hands of what planters had done in the time of slavery, and in the absence of any evidence that the cruel spirit of that period was banished from the West Indies, it was natural that the philanthropists of England should hesitate to allow them any measure of power over the immigrant labourers that might be used as an instrument of oppression.* The wildness of a savage state was a better condition of life, than one in which should be possible the recurrence of those horrid cruelties which had marked the system of slavery. Better to leave the negro, or the Hindu, in his barbarous or half-civilized condition, and the tea of civilized nations unsweetened, than subject him to the tender mercies of the driver's whip, or the workhouse tread-mill.

By the assistance of the Imperial Government, in the shape of a loan, and the wise measures of retrenchment carried through by Lord Harris, the colonists, in 1849, began to recover from the depths of distress into which they had fallen. An amended immigration ordinance was passed in the same year, and still further amended in 1854, which has met the approbation both of the island and colonial office authorities, and certainly, as it now stands, works to the satisfaction of the planter, and of all

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* The following is from Dr. Davy: "I may add an instance of another kind of abuse—well authenticated, I heard it at his lordship's table [the Governor's]—how the manager of an estate had seven women returned in his account as labourers, but were doing no work, being with child, all by him" (p. 311). The *vices* of the slave period had evidently not greatly diminished. This was in 1848.

in the island who are interested in the welfare of the people. Their religious and moral condition must be excepted, for which the ordinance makes no provision, and which has as yet received no effective attention from any church or religious organization, either in the colony or in England.

Chinese labourers were first introduced in March, 1853, when 440 were landed at Port of Spain. Others have since been introduced, but in no great numbers. Some planters speak well of them as labourers; but the first immigrants gave much trouble: no one knew their language, they were unwilling to work, and as speedily as possible relieved themselves from the obligation of field labour. At the present time most of them are gardeners, and find in the inland markets a remunerative and large demand for the provisions they grow. They are the only peasants resident in the island who carefully and systematically obtain land and cultivate it for the profit it yields. They understand tillage better than any other class of labourers.*

The main features of the present immigration ordinance are the following:—A superintendent of immigrants is appointed, with powers to transact all

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* The Immigration Agent of Trinidad, in a letter, received by Mr. Cave on the 16th March last, says:—"One Chinaman, last week, realized 900 dollars (£187. 10*s.*) by his potato crop; this is of course an extreme case, but many have one or two acres of similar cultivation. Not less than thirty have married Creoles, and seventeen have families."—*Papers relative to Free Labour by the West India Committee.*

business connected with the immigrants, their indentures, registration, condition on the estates, and their return to their own country. He acts as their protector, and exercises a strict surveillance on behalf of the Government. On any complaint from a Coolie, he has power to visit the estate, and at once, if the complaint be well founded, to cancel the indenture, and remove the complainant. No contract is valid without the approval of the superintendent, nor can it be of longer duration than three years. The same officer is bound to keep an accurate register of the immigrants, to provide them with food if not immediately employed on their arrival, to assign the services of immigrants to any employer whom he may think fit, provided that husbands are not separated from their wives, nor children under the age of fifteen from their parents, or natural protectors. He may inspect the condition of the assigned immigrants at any time, muster them to hear what they have to say, and is directed twice a year to visit every plantation where they are employed. Employers have to make quarterly returns of all immigrants in their service, date and causes of death (if any), number of births, etc. For illusage, or neglect of duty, or breach of contract, on either side, the superintendent can immediately cancel the indentures. If this officer reports that the huts, or accommodations provided for the immigrants, are bad or insufficient, or if, for any other cause, he should think the removal of an immigrant requisite, the Governor can at once interfere and remove them, one or all, from the estate. The first term

of service is three years, all subsequent engagements can be made only from year to year; but even this three years' term may be shortened, by the immigrant paying a certain proportion of his cost of importation, corresponding to the time unexpired. A certificate of industrial residence is then given; and at the end of ten years, such persons are entitled to return to their native country, mainly at the expense of the colony. In practice, the return voyage is wholly at the cost of the colonial chest.

The indenture requires the Coolie to labour for nine hours daily on the estate of his master. For these services, the planters have to pay the regular rate of wages, in money, to the Coolies, and at regular periods. If sick, certain allowances and medical attendance are to be afforded at the employer's expense. An annual sum of £2 each Coolie has also to be paid into the colonial treasury during the term of indenture.

It must, I think, be admitted that these regulations are wholly in favour of the Coolie. If it be granted that immigration is right, no rules could be better framed for his just treatment and temporal welfare. The only hardship, or regulation having the aspect of a hardship, is the passport required to be shown by every Coolie to any policeman, on demand, when off the estate; but even this regulation in the working is favourable to his well being. It prevents his squatting in the woods, which, from their proximity to the estates, afford a tempting refuge to the idle and dissolute; or his becoming a vagrant, without food or home, as was the case in 1848.

In no part of the island did I hear of a case of hardship arising out of this regulation; and, indeed, so well is the object of the passport now understood by the Coolies, that it is but seldom that its production is called for.

This system is approved by every class of persons in the island. I conversed with Government officials, planters, managers, missionaries, storekeepers, and with the Coolies themselves, and I did not hear a single complaint. Men of opposite political opinions, men who very freely criticize the acts of the Government, as well as men who view the planting interest with suspicion, all concurred in this—that the immigration system, as working in the island of Trinidad, is a success. There may be cases of oppression, but I did not hear of them; and I am sure that some of the parties with whom I had intercourse would have told me had they known of their existence. My own observation, on such estates as I visited, or passed through, quite corroborates the testimony of parties in the island. The huts of the Coolies, to say the least, are better than the cabins they usually inhabit in India. The people look well fed, happy, and contented. I spoke with men from many parts of India, from East Bengal, Behar, the North West Provinces, and from Oude, and that away from the estates, on the roadside, everyone expressed himself as pleased with his lot. "This, good country;" was a frequent reply to the question put.

It will be observed that great power, almost absolute power, is vested in the hands of the Immigration Agent, and it may be said that the success of the scheme is

owing more to the man who works it, than to the system itself. This is true. The good working of the ordinance is greatly, if not altogether, due to the unwearied exertions and anxious care of Dr. Mitchell, the present superintendent. Nothing can exceed his activity, his interest in the welfare of the Coolies, and his watchful regard to every point which concerns the smooth and successful working of the regulations. But the same may be said of any law. Its successful administration lies in the hands of the administrator, and the best of laws may be rendered inutile, or even become a curse, from inattention, or the wilful perversion of its provisions, by the persons whose duty it is to execute it. The planters and people of Trinidad, as well as the Coolies, must be congratulated on having in this instance secured the services of a gentleman so eminently qualified for the part he fills. It would be well for the colony, if some of its other offices were as worthily filled.

A few facts illustrative of the results of immigration in Trinidad, may fitly close the general statements I have made.

The immigration has, beyond all question, largely benefited the planters. Year by year the export of sugar increases,* and its cultivation extends. A highly

* Trinidad exported before Coolie labour was introduced, in 1842, 20,506 hhds.; 1843, 24,088 hhds.; 1844, 21,800 hhds.; 1845, 23,399 hhds. After Coolie labour was introduced, in 1854, 27,989 hhds.; 1855, 31,693 hhds.; 1856, 34,411 hhds.; 1857, 35,523 hhds.; 1858, 37,000 hhds.; 1859, 40,000 hhds. There has also been an increase in the exportation of cacao. In 1858, 5,200,000 lbs. were exported, against 3,200,000 lbs.—the highest export ever attained before emancipation.

respectable planter assured me, that within the last few years, mortgages have to a large extent been paid off, a larger amount of capital is being applied to the land, and although some planters still believe in cattle-mills and water-power, yet new machinery is continually introduced, and steam is rapidly superseding the ruder forms of manufacture. The land under culture has increased from 15,000 to 29,000 acres. An iron-rail tramway, to facilitate the conveyance of the crop to the port of San Fernando, has been commenced in the fertile sugar district of Naparima. I quote the following official report:—"It would be no difficult task to enumerate estates which have more than doubled their produce since 1841. Others, long abandoned, or nearly so, have risen from their ruins, and a few of late years have been established on newly cleared forest land. It may not be that in most of these instances the planters have heavy balances in their favour at the local bank, but mortgages of ancient date, and almost hopeless amount, have been settled; the labourers earn a higher aggregate of wages, their houses are comfortable, the manufacturing machinery, whether fixed or moveable, is more powerful, and the planter himself has fairly contributed, or rather created, that increased commerce which has enabled the colony to provide ample means for the introduction of labour from the most distant shores."*

Its effects on the condition of the Creole, or Negro

* Trinidad Press, for 4th May, 1859.

population, have been not less beneficial. By the opponents of immigration it was argued that it would lower wages, and injure the prospects of the resident labourers; and so it would have done, had the population of the island been large and commensurate with the quantity of land available for cultivation. But so fertile is the soil, and so many are the acres of land inviting the application of capital and labour, that hitherto all the labour supplied has been absorbed, and will continue to be so for years to come. But with this extension of cultivation, there has necessarily arisen a demand for lumberers, hedgers, and ditchers, to clear and fence the hitherto untilled acres. Drainage has to be effected. Carpenters, coopers, engine-men, boiler-men, mule-drivers, and all the trades connected with the manufacture and export of the staple, are in great request. The demand for provisions to supply the wants of the Coolies has increased, and the cattle employed on the estates must be fed. There has, therefore, sprung up a great demand for skilled labour, for labour of a better paid sort than that of mere field hands. The Inspector of Public Works informed me, that he employs none but Creoles on the roads and bridges now in course of erection; that, in fact, they monopolize all the better kinds of manual labour. Wherever skill is required, they are the parties to undertake the work. Garden produce also finds a better market.

All these occupations and duties are being rapidly taken up by the Creole. He is removed from the

condition of a mere servitor, and receives a higher remuneration for the exertions he puts forth. The Coolie is therefore no competitor with the Creole in the labour market, and no ill-feeling exists because of the displacement of one by the other. Coolie labour opens a wider field of exertion to the Negro, and he is becoming the artisan and the skilled labourer of the Trinidad community. He has a fair share of the increasing fund distributed as wages in the island. His position is improved, and there is required of him higher forms of labour than can be executed by the cutlass or the hoe.* Many years must elapse before the population of Trinidad will overtake the means of easy subsistence. Not one-seventh of the soil is under cultivation. Noble forests clothe the mountain sides, where coffee and cacao would grow; and tens of thousands of acres, adapted for sugar, are overrun with brushwood, or form extensive savannahs of grass.

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* From a return of the Immigration Agent, it appears that while the Coolie laboured, in 1858, an average of 19 days and a half in a month, he earned only 24s. 4d.; the Creole Negro, labouring on an average nearly 17 days in a month, earned 24s. 7d.; thus showing, that if he laboured less, he was better paid. The Creole immigrants from other islands were still better paid, earning for 17 days and a half of labour, 26s. 1d. The amount of wages paid on 140 estates, was, in the month of March, £20,317. Reckoning 7 months as the duration of crop-time, this gives £142,219 as the amount of wages spent by these estates in taking in the crop, and in the manufacture of sugar. The number of estates actually under sugar cultivation, is about 160. *Parl. Reports for* 1858, *part* 1, *p.* 37. These calculations do not include contract and job work, which is better paid than ordinary estate work. One-tenth more should be added for this description of labour.

The Coolie also participates in the general prosperity of the island. If there were much ill-usage, neglect, or bad living, the results would surely appear in the rate of mortality prevalent among them. Dr. Mitchell says: "It has been seen in the reports of 1857 and 1858, that the death rate among the rural population in this colony was slightly under 16 in 1000—a rate considerably lower than that of the 63 healthiest agricultural counties in England, where the mortality was 17·64 in 1000, and that of Liverpool 36 in 1000." And again: "The death rate among the Bengalee population of Trinidad will not, at the close of the year, probably rise to one-third of the ordinary mortality of Calcutta; where, according to a late estimate of Dr. Mouatt, the average for Mussalman and Hindu is 4·41 in 100," or 44·1 in 1000. The mortality among the children of the Coolie women, is also very much less than among the children of the Negroes, who are natives of the island.

One more fact must be adduced illustrative of the condition of the Coolies in Trinidad. I have mentioned above the right they possess to return to India after their term of service has expired. I will quote below a return of the number who have availed themselves of this privilege, and of the sums of money, saved out of their earnings, they have taken back. The total number of Coolies imported up to 1858, is about 15,000. It must be noted that this return includes only the sums deposited in the hands of the agent, and paid to the Coolies on their arrival in India, through the Indian

Treasury.* Many kept their money on their persons, or gave it to the officers of the ships for safety, while others had invested their savings, or a part of them, in ornaments for their wives or themselves.

One gentleman assured me, that a year or two ago ten Coolies returned to India with £600, their savings while in hisemploy. It is no wonder that they are beginning to exhibit considerable reluctance to leave a country where they are so prosperous. The Agent reports, in 1859: "Barely two hundred have enrolled their names on the register for return Coolies for back passage to India since the sailing of the Morayshire, in December last. Of these only fourteen are old immigrants, introduced prior to 1848; the remainder are principally those whose industrial residence expired in 1853, and of these so many have since entered into fresh engagements, that experience induces me to believe that not even one hundred would really present themselves, at any given

YEAR.	SHIP.	TONNAGE.	SOULS.	MONEY DEPOSITED WITH AGENTS.		
				£	s.	d.
1851	E. Stewart.	524	22	1073	13	11
1851	Eliza.	682	308	3532	3	3
1852	Clarendon.	550	213	1594	10	6
1853	Bucephalus.	985	293	6250	0	0
1853	Shand.	836	275	4751	3	2
1855	Scindian.	650	169	3130	0	0
1856	Arabin.	988	274	3230	0	0
1857	Eveline.	814	336	6302	0	0
1858	Morayshire.	833	355	4900	18	11
			2245*	£34854	9	9

* About one-fifth of this number were women and children.

period for embarkation. The number of free Coolies being somewhat over four thousand, a sufficient number to freight a ship may eventually come forward."* That is, labour is so profitable and abundant in Trinidad, that of four thousand Coolies entitled to return, not two hundred are found ready to avail themselves of the opportunity. In fact, they are tempted to remain, not only by the good wages they get, but by the bounty of from two to five pounds that the planters are willing to give for one year's further service. This statement speaks volumes as to their contentment and well-doing.

To the above may be added the following closing words of the Agent's report for 1859: "Not only have many immigrants, who availed themselves of free passages back to Calcutta from the West Indies, returned hither, with full knowledge that their renewed contract was for a residence of ten instead of four years, as in the first instance; but others have paid their own passage-fares, and that of their wives, from India, to enable them to return to the West Indies, free from contract towards either the colony or the employer."

There remain, however, two or three drawbacks to the full success of this immigration. It is doubtful whether the immigrants are not often entrapped in India by the persons employed to obtain them, and it is certain that the mortality on the voyage is far too great. The Edith lost 27 passengers out of 401; the Akbar more—36 out of 346; the Hanover's mortality was

* Agent's Report for 1859.

frightful—54 out of 388. These are the worst cases. The Roman Emperor lost 3 only out of 382; and the Hope 1 out of 296. The French immigrant vessels from India to Martinique lose but one per cent. of the labourers embarked. Much of the excessive mortality is owing to the want of careful selection. Many immigrants are put on board, though under inspection, in a very unfit state for the voyage, from age or constitutional weakness. "The French admit of no adult being shipped who is not in perfect health, and under forty years of age." The difference in the cases shews that a great mortality is not a necessary accompaniment of immigration. An officer of one of the West Indian steamers told me that, by law, the Coolies are secured more room than the soldiers of Her Majesty's army in transport ships. It does not, therefore, arise from overcrowding, but from some preventible cause.

There has also been, hitherto, far too small a proportion of women. It has risen, indeed, from one-fifth to one-third; but it should undoubtedly be one-half. I understand that orders are issued to increase the proportion.

It is to be regretted that immigration has involved the colony in debt. The present immigration debt in Trinidad is about £125,000. Of course this entails taxation, and to that extent becomes a burden on its industry. Should circumstances arise to increase the competition in the sugar market, the planters, with this debt existing or accumulating, will find themselves

unable to meet it. The debt adds to the cost of production, and so far limits the ability of the planter to produce a cheap article. It is to be hoped that the present favourable prices of sugar will not stimulate the planters to seek labourers at a cost which may prove, in an adverse market, a drag on their prosperity. As all classes are benefited by the increase of employment and the outlay of so large a sum in wages, there is some reason why a portion of the cost of immigration should be met out of the general funds of the island; but as the planters are the chief and largest gainers by the increase of labourers, so also ought they to bear the largest share of the cost of introducing them.

HAYTI.

HAYTI.

CHAPTER I.

The Voyage—Grenada—Barbadoes—St. Thomas'—The Moravian Mission—Emancipation and Insurrection of the Slaves—Romanism—Charlotte Amelia—Porto Rico—Hayti—Jacmel—The Cemetery—Commencement of the Baptist Mission—Revolution—Conversion of Elincine—The School—A Baptism—Reign of Terror—Progress of the Mission—The Church—The Boarding School—The Chapel—Extension of the Mission—Bible Readers.

After morning service, on Sunday, 25th September, the arrival of the home-bound steamer from Tobago was announced. As only a few hours are allowed for the embarkation of the mails and passengers, we were on board by four o'clock, being accompanied to the ship by Mr. Law and a few friends, to whose hospitality we had been indebted for our very pleasant sojourn in Trinidad. By dark we had left the quiet waters of the gulf, repassed the hurtling Crags of the Dragon's Mouth, and were again in full sail on the waters of the Caribbean Sea. With daylight, the next morning, we entered the harbour

of Grenada, this time escaping the reef on which our steamer ran before. Coaling allowed us ample time for a long walk around and through the town, the capital of the island, and named St. George. * Passing by the deserted fort, on the ramparts of which the guns still stand, a road led us to the cemetery, on a lofty hill, from whence we obtained a fine view of the harbour, and the hills which bathe their feet in the sea, clothed from their summits to the water's edge with rich foliage and vegetation. Returning, we passed through the whole length of the town. A few noisy hucksters of fruit and vegetables were squatted in the Market Square. Everywhere good and substantial houses were untenanted and going to decay. The people moved listlessly about, as if they had little to do. An aspect of decay was stamped on everything.

Beautiful as the island is, it has suffered greatly from the decline of its staple production. But the people are for the most part well off, and possess many of the comforts of life. The population numbers over 32,000 individuals, of whom two-thirds are Roman Catholics. They speak a French patois, in which the priests encourage them, to preserve them from the influence of the English clergy and missionaries. Obeahism has considerable power, retarding their moral improvement, and even unfitting them for the common occupations of life.

St. Vincent's was reached the same evening, and the next morning we anchored in the harbour of Bridgetown,

* Davy, p. 216.

the capital of Barbadoes. We took advantage of a delay in the arrival of the steamer from Demerara to go on shore. The mist of the morning soon cleared off, and a light rain left a comparatively cool atmosphere. We landed on the right bank of the canal which runs round the town, and at its mouth forms a small dock. Many coasting vessels were moored about. Thence we walked through the town to the Cantonments at the other extremity. The houses were poor-looking; the richer inhabitants having their residences in the outskirts. The people were well dressed, and there was an air of activity and business somewhat unusual in these island towns. Barbadoes is often called Little England, and the Barbadians are proud of their highly cultivated and prosperous island. Among the planters are a few black men. One of these, a gentleman in manners and conversation, whom I met on board the steamer on his way home from Hayti, told me that both himself and his father had been slaves. His father was now the proprietor of two estates producing about 300 hogheads of sugar a year, purchased from their savings at a cost of £12,000. Both estates were cultivated solely by black people. A fine example of thrift and capacity.

Nothing of any particular interest occurred as we rapidly passed the beautiful islands which form the Archipelago of the Caribbean sea. We reached the harbour of St. Thomas' early on Friday, the 30th September. Our detention here till the arrival of the English mail, allowed an opportunity for visiting the town and island, which our first visit did not permit.

St. Thomas', one of the three islands belonging to the Crown of Denmark, was especially interesting to us, as the first missionary field of the Moravian brethren. Here, in 1732, came from Herrnhut, Leonard Dober and David Nitschman, for the purpose of preaching the Gospel to the slave. Their only instruction from Count Zinzendorf, on leaving Lusatia, was, "In all things follow the guidance of the Spirit of Christ;" their only material wealth was one pound sterling of their own, and a ducat, given each of them by Zinzendorf, for the expenses of their journey. Pious friends helped them even while they discouraged them. Their piety and zeal, however, secured for them, before they left Copenhagen, royal encouragement. In ten weeks they reached their destination. Nitschman soon returned to Europe; his duty was simply to accompany his friend. In twenty months Dober was recalled by the congregation at Herrnhut, to undertake the office of superintending elder. His efforts at evangelization had been confined to private intercourse; he does not appear to have once attempted to assemble the slaves for public worship. In December, 1735, three zealous brethren resumed the work. Religion soon began to spread among the negroes, and with success came hostility and persecution. One of the brethren left the mission and soon died; the other two, in 1738, were thrown into prison. They might have died there, but for the opportune arrival, in January, 1739, of Count Zinzendorf. On landing, he heard of their imprisonment: addressing a negro, the Count inquired where were the brethren. "They are all in prison," was the reply.

The Count. "How long have they been there?"

Negro. "Upwards of three months."

The Count. "What are the negroes doing in the meantime?"

Negro. "Oh! they go on well, and there is a great awakening among them: the imprisonment of the brethren is quite a sermon to them."*

On the Count's application, they were immediately released. They were reconciled to the authorities, and before his departure, a house and small plantation were purchased for the use of the mission. But the premises were scarcely occupied before an attack was made upon them by the white inhabitants. The slaves assembled were cruelly treated, the furniture was broken to pieces, and great damage done to the house. Nevertheless, the brethren persisted in their labour of love, though not unfrequently in personal danger from their adversaries. Their steadfastness was amply rewarded. Year by year the converts increased. The negroes flocked to the missionaries in great numbers. Crowds filled the church, and, at length, many were admitted to the privileges of the house of God. The work spread to the neighbouring Danish islands of St. John and St. Croix. During the hundred years previous to 1840, the brethren had baptized 18,503 adults, and 12,807 children. They had admitted to the communion 13,333 individuals.

* Life of Count Zinzendorf, by Rev. A. G. Spangenberg. London, 1838, p. 252.

The Moravian missionaries held slaves on the plantations of which they were possessors. It is true that they were dealt with in a spirit of Christian kindness; but it led to remonstrances from the Anti-Slavery Society, and finally, to the giving up of the "accursed thing" in 1844. In the same year, the Government of Denmark began to take measures to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, and, in the legislature, important discussions arose on the subject in 1847. It was then ordained, that all children born after January 1st, 1848, should be free, and the adult population twelve years thereafter. Whether the terms of this edict were not rendered intelligible to the slaves, or that they were impatient to enjoy their liberty, an insurrection broke out in St. Croix, and the Governor, to stay the bloodshed and anarchy, at once proclaimed the people absolutely free. Subsequently they were placed under the restrictions of a severe labour law, which, though at first strictly carried out, has now fallen into comparative desuetude; partly from the people having themselves become proprietors of land, and partly that coerced labour cannot long exist in conjunction with free institutions.

In St. Thomas', the cultivation of sugar has entirely ceased as an article of export. The population is concentrated in the city of Charlotte Amelia, which is the port of the island. Of thirteen thousand inhabitants, less than three thousand find a subsistence by cultivating the soil. The rest obtain a livelihood in the town, from the shipping, and from the extensive trade of which St. Thomas' is the mart. The Danish Government has

wisely made it a free port. Hence the island is the resort of traders from the neighbouring countries, and its stores warehouse supplies of goods for the Spanish main. Its trade is also increased by the harbour having become the West India station of the English Royal Mail Company, whose traffic and coaling wharves give employment to a large number of people.

We visited the store for the sale of Bibles and religious works kept by the Moravian missionary living in the capital. He did not speak at all cheerfully of the moral and religious condition of the island. The number of Moravian converts is about two thousand three hundred, of whom a very small part live in the city. The few inhabitants left in the interior of the island, are kept there by being chiefly employed on the plantations belonging to the mission. In the city there is much immorality; being the resort of foreigners from all parts of the world, their presence is in this respect most detrimental to the moral improvement of the people. The late ruler of Mexico, Santa Anna, has erected for himself a residence on one of the three hills, around whose base the town has been built.

Romanism has made much progress of late years. In 1701, the Church of Rome could claim but a single individual; now, one-third of the population is under its influence. The church we entered was built in 1844, and is situated in the main street. It will hold six or eight hundred persons, and is adorned with tawdry images of the Virgin, and a few coloured prints, illustrative of the twelve stations of the Passion. The

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services are usually held in French and Spanish; now and then an English sermon is preached, which tongue is rapidly becoming the language of the entire population. Besides these religionists, there are bodies of Lutherans, of the Reformed Dutch Church, a few Episcopalians and Wesleyans. The Lutherans and Wesleyans have neither minister nor sanctuary.

The city has no particular attraction. A small fort, manned by two companies of soldiers, guards the harbour, and secures the dues of the shipping, and the obedience of the people to the autocratic decrees of the governor, who is solely responsible to the Crown of Denmark. Near the fort is a small public garden, about one hundred yards square, kept in order by the convicts, and giving shade to the loungers about the landing-place. The city has one long street, with short branches running up the three hills on which it is built. From the entrance of the harbour, its bright tiled roofs and coloured walls have a very picturesque effect; while the ground rises rapidly behind, to a ridge some four or five hundred feet in height. The harbour is land-locked; it often becomes very unhealthy, from the want of outlet for the bilged-water and garbage of the shipping. It is far too much sheltered by the surrounding heights from the trade winds, which bring health and coolness to these tropical islands. Fever frequently prevails among the ships' crews.

As the curiosities of the place were soon exhausted, we hailed with joy the arrival of the English mail, on the 2nd October. In two hours after, we commenced the voyage

to Hayti; it was a day of clouds and mist, often shrouding from sight the northern shores of Porto Rico, near to which we sailed. Showers of rain occasionally fell, cooling the heated air. By four in the afternoon we were off San Juan, the capital; and, rounding the fort, in half an hour were lying in the harbour. Our stay was too short to allow of landing, but from the anchorage we had a good view of the town. The houses looked substantial, the streets well-paved, and as usual in all the Spanish-built towns of the West Indies, laid out at right angles. A gasometer, on the wharf, indicated the presence of some of the conveniences of modern civilization. The town is surrounded on every side by fortifications, and on the sea face the strength of the forts seemed great. The walls looked in good repair; but were very sparsely furnished with cannon. A casemated battery in the centre of the harbour's mouth, built on an isolated rock, adds to the difficulty of an invader's assault. At the head of the bay the country was low and flat, and under sugar cultivation, rising beyond into hills and mountain peaks, three thousand feet high, clothed with profuse vegetation. Although it was Sunday, we could perceive, not far inland, a gang of slaves, with a white overseer, engaged in cutting the sugar cane; we gazed with no slight interest at this first specimen of slavery that we had seen.

At dusk we were on our way to Hayti. Cloudy weather continuing the next day, we were unable to get more than an occasional glimpse of its mountains. On the Tuesday afternoon we entered the harbour of

Jacmel, and found watching for us, on the newly erected pier, our missionary and friend, the Rev. W. H. Webley. It was dark by the time the luggage had passed the custom-house, and we had accomplished the formalities necessary on our entrance into Hayti. One of these was to visit the police-office, and report our arrival. The courthouse, as by courtesy we must call it, was a small wooden cottage, in a dirty and untidy condition. A ragged soldier was *sitting* on guard at the door. An officer soon came, of the rank of colonel, dressed in regimentals; he asked a few questions very politely, and dismissed us satisfied. Black as he was, he was not so civilized as to demand a fee for his trouble. The next morning, a similar visit was paid to the general commanding the district, and whose office—one of the largest houses in the main street—stands side by side with the mission chapel. We soon experienced the inconvenience of this proximity, as behind and over the large hall, which constitutes the chapel, is the residence of the missionary. In the verandah of the general's quarters, sitting or lying, is the guard; and before it an occasional parade is called. The change of guard and the parade, were usually accompanied by the sound of very inharmonious fifes and drums, not a little disturbing, at times, to the worshippers in the chapel, and to the family of the missionary. This convenient structure stands in a very commanding situation, is built entirely of wood, framed in America, and erected in Jacmel by American workmen; it is the handsomest building in the town.

The first few days were spent in ascertaining the state of the mission, calling on the people, and visiting objects of interest. A very small part of the town is visible from the sea; a slight ascent from the landing-place, however, brings it into view, lying in a hollow, or climbing the sides of the valleys formed by the spurs of the mountains around. The Grand River, which here disembogues its waters into the sea, flows in a rushing unnavigable stream at the bottom of the town, filled with boulders of rock, and trunks of trees, brought down from the mountains by the floods. The streets are broad, ill-paved with large stones, or carved into deep ruts and gullies by the waters of the rainy season. The houses are of wood, with shingled roofs, generally one story in height, with verandahs to the upper, as well as ground floor.

The square, or market-place, is in the higher part of the town. One side is occupied by the Roman Catholic church—a mean, rude structure of wood, but around which a stone church was in course of erection. The market is supplied by the people of the mountains with the fruits and vegetables of the country. Poultry is tolerably abundant, the flesh of the goat or kid may generally be obtained; but beef or mutton never. Everything is excessively dear, whether estimated in the depreciated paper money of the country, or in foreign coin. For flour, salt provisions, potatoes, and clothing of every kind, the inhabitants depend on foreign supplies, chiefly from America; these commodities are paid for with coffee and dyewoods, the only articles

of commerce which the industry or idleness of the Haytiens will allow them to produce.

The cemetery lies on an eminence, a short way from the town. It is crowded with monuments, excepting in that portion set apart for the Baptist congregation. That is consecrated by the graves of Mr. Francis, our first missionary, and of the first Mrs. Webley and her babe. The tombs are shadowed by the dense foliage of the bush. They are generally formed of a square heap of masonry, rising about a foot from the ground; a few are very handsome, constructed of marble, imported at great expense from France. Haytiens think much of the honours paid to the dead: funerals, with their concomitants of dresses, feasts, and lights, are the costliest luxuries of Haytien life. Before we left Jacmel, the day of All Saints came round, when the people visit the tombs of their friends, burn wax tapers upon them, or in niches at the ends, and spend hours in silent communion with the dead. Towards the close of the day, we walked up to the cemetery; the jungle had been completely cleared away, the tombs repaired, and painted or whitewashed. Some were handsomely adorned with vases of flowers, and candelabra filled with burning wax lights. The Romish priest was active in chanting prayers over the departed, for which office he found money deposited on the sepulchres by their living friends. The men present were few; women and children, dressed in white or black, and with much elegance and taste, composed the far larger part of the crowds which circulated among the graves. Here and

there, a few more disconsolate remained seated on or near the tomb, engaged in counting beads, muttering prayers, or giving expression to recent grief by tears. Around a large wooden cross, erected near the entrance gate, some hundreds of wax lights were stuck in the ground; here the people for a time arrested their steps, and offered supplications for the dead. The inscriptions on the tombs were brief. One said: "Here lies the body and soul"—of so-and-so; a new rendering of the nature of death, at all events, I suppose, a Haytien notion.

The tombs of the missionaries had also undergone repair by the hands of loving friends, together with those of three members of the church, who lie side by side with them in death, having cherished in life the same blessed hope of immortality.

The first service, in connection with the Baptist Mission in Jacmel, took place on the 25th December, 1845. The mission was commenced by the Revs. E. J. Francies and M. Flanders, and their wives, with Miss Harris and Miss Clark. They landed on the island at midnight of the 10th December. Ill health very shortly constrained Mr. Flanders to withdraw: on the 29th of the following July, Mr. Francies was called away to his rest. They found Jacmel in ruins: the streets, houses, gardens, and fields, presented the appearance of having been sacked by a set of brigands. Commerce was at a stand, and cultivation entirely neglected. This was the result of anarchy, consequent on the revolution which expelled Boyer in 1843. Riviére and Guerrier followed, in quick succession, as presidents of the

Haytien republic. On the death of the latter, in April, 1845, the General Pierrot was nominated to the Presidency by the Council of State; but his reign was short. He was deposed with the consent of all parties, and, on the 1st March, 1846, General Jean Baptiste Riché was elected President of Hayti. Although allied by colour to the black portion of the population, his character gave confidence to the Mulattoes that a reign of peace and order was at hand. He restored the constitution of 1816, re-established a legislature of two houses, promoted education, and was very favourable to the settlement of whites in the island. Just as the first year of his reign drew to its close, he died. He was immediately succeeded by the General Soulouque, who, in August, 1849, transformed the republic into an empire, assumed imperial titles, and instituted imperial forms of government.

But although the country was in this distracted state, the missionaries were warmly welcomed. A suitable dwelling was secured in the market-place, where Divine worship was commenced on Christmas Day; the authorities of the town promising protection, and shewing their good will by sending a small picket of soldiers as a guard during the service. Distant sixty miles from the capital, and still further from the frontier of the Spanish part of the island, which had become independent of Hayti, and with which there was frequent war, Jacmel was deemed the most suitable place for missionary labour: the probabilities were many that the missionaries would there remain unmolested in the midst of the civil warfare which was continually waged. This internecine

strife has its source in the antagonism existing between the black and the mulatto. The one is strongly imbued with the superstitions of his African origin, which no cultivation has removed. The other alone possesses any degree of fitness for the government of the country, being more or less instructed in European knowledge. But the mulattoes are too few to contend always successfully with the preponderance which numbers give to the black.

Shortly after his arrival, Mr. Francies was able to conduct divine service in French; day and Sunday schools were commenced under the very efficient instruction of Miss Harris, and good congregations secured. The attendance was, however, very uncertain and variable: the house might be crowded during the whole service, but the congregation would change in its component parts four or five times. Many would enter, cross themselves, bow, kneel down, mutter a few words, then at a pause in the service get up, walk to the table at which the missionary stood, make a profound bow, again cross themselves, and go out. Some would enter from the market, and offer their wares for sale. Still good was done; gradually a little knot of twenty steadfast hearers was formed, and on the first Sunday in June, the missionary had the joy of baptizing his first Haytien convert.

Eliacine Louis-Jean was a specimen of a class of persons which in Hayti takes the place of nuns in other Catholic countries. Nunneries, and persons secluded in convents, there are none. But many women—actuated

by a desire to attain to a higher religious life in the midst of the ungodliness which pervades all classes of society, the priestly class not excepted—devote their days to austerities and religious duties. Two years before her baptism, Eliacine had left her father's house, to his great dissatisfaction, for Jacmel, there to become a devotee, to attend the daily mass, and to practise the "maxims of perfection" framed by the Church of Rome. The sound of preaching on Christmas Day first attracted her attention as she passed by. She was then drawn to the evening prayer, then to the school, where she desired instruction. Still she did not discern the errors of the system in which she had been trained. On Good Friday she took her usual place with her companion devotees, dressed in white, in the procession with images of the Virgin, the crucifix, and the host. On the following Sunday, the divergence of the Church of Rome from the Word of God was the missionary's theme. She was surprised. Conversation with the missionary gradually led to a clearer apprehension of the "truth as it is in Jesus," till at length she brought her crucifix, her scapulars, her image of the Virgin, and gave them up. "I have had," said she, "many idols, but they are no use to me now. I bought them for one gourd each, and I could sell them again; but if I did that I should be aiding others to sin; and if I give them away, I should be encouraging those to whom I give them to be superstitious, and this would be equally sinful; but I give them all up to you." Her baptism took place in the river near at hand. At its close was sung the hymn, "Nous

voyageons au ciel d'en haut—Irez vous?" a hymn from the English, translated by Miss Harris.

Six more inquirers excited the hopes of the missionary. But the vices and habits of the country were found to be great barriers in the way of the open confession of the Gospel. The Lord's-day was the chief day of trade. Concubinage was then, as it still is, the common practice of the people. Visits were made to neighbouring villages, testaments distributed, and an open door was everywhere found for the preaching of the Word. This scene of active labour was darkly clouded when, on the 29th of July, the missionary fell a prey to the yellow fever, the scourge of the islands of the West. Young men of the town bore him to his grave—a tribute of respect which shewed the high estimation he had obtained in the few brief months of his stay among them.

Till the arrival of the Rev. W. H. Webley, in February, 1847, Miss Harris conducted public worship, reading a sermon to those who assembled. The girls' school, from which many very interesting converts have been drawn, continued in full operation. In December, 1846, the President of the Republic, with his ministers, visited the town. A commissioner examined the school, whose report so gratified the President that he desired an interview with Miss Harris, and offered a government grant in aid. This Miss Harris respectfully declined; but the President expressed his intention to send five of his own children to the school, and to

support a young person to be trained as a teacher under her charge.

During the year 1847, several inquirers presented themselves; some were baptized, and the congregations continued large. One of these baptisms, on the Wednesday before New-Year's-day, 1848, was deeply interesting. Owing to opposition having been stirred up in the beginning of the dark days which followed the election of General Soulouque, who became President on the 1st March, 1847, the rite was performed at a distance of fifteen miles from Jacmel, at the village of La Hâte. The six converts, with their friends, met before the dawn, in the brilliant moonlight, and, after prayer, were baptized into Christ, amid the deep calm of the mountain solitudes There were no chapel walls, save those of the lofty precipices which towered almost perpendicularly around them. The baptistery was the still pool, which the rushing river had made in its winding course around a small bend at the foot of the mountain. With songs of praise and supplication, the first fruits of the Haytien mission were offered to the Lord.

These peaceful labours were soon interrupted. Moved by dark suspicion, and impelled by the terror of witchcraft, the President Soulouque, in April, 1848, collected in his palace his cabinet and the chief inhabitants of the capital. Suddenly, armed men began to assemble, and, at a signal, a deadly fire was poured into the unarmed crowd of officers and civil functionaries in the court-

yard, and on the ministry itself, as its members took flight and endeavoured to escape over the high iron railing which encircles the residence of the chief of the state. For several days the slaughter continued. The coloured people were sought out in the city and cruelly slain. On the quay, whither many had fled with the hope of finding refuge on board the foreign ships in the harbour, the carnage was most horrible. Men and women were shot down in great numbers. Even those in the warehouses around did not escape. In their fury, the black soldiery fired at closed windows and doors, with the hope of killing the people within. On my visit to Port-au-Prince, the indentations made by the bullets of these fusillades were shown me on the massive doors which protect the stores of the merchant importers. Executions of suspected persons followed, till the town lay silent, breathless with terror, at the feet of the tyrant. Some escaped to other countries. The offices of government were actually closed for want of clerks —brown people, the objects of Soulouque's hate and fear, having almost alone the intelligence and skill necessary to carry on public affairs.

The massacre extended to the country. The mulatto proprietors of the land were hunted out and slain; their houses and property were plundered or burnt, the black authorities everywhere applauding. At Jacmel, some resistance was attempted. For a time Soulouque endeavoured to conciliate the inhabitants, and succeeded; but soon threw off the mask, and cast many of the principal citizens into prison. A few escaped to Jamaica

and elsewhere. Of those incarcerated, fourteen accused of conspiracy, were condemned to death. The missionary was permitted to visit the prisoners. Most of them were well known to him. One was the uncle of a convert. At three several times they were executed. The rest of the captives were condemned to various periods of imprisonment. These events threw a gloom over the prospects of the mission. The young men, who in considerable numbers attended at the chapel, were mostly taken for soldiers. Nearly every family was mourning the loss of some of its members. Scarcely anyone dared to stir out, still less to venture to join a religious assembly, for fear of immediate arrest. Not until he had made the peninsula a "vast solitude, half desert, half cemetery," and even suppressed the groans of distress through terror, did Soulouque return to his capital.* But, amidst it all, the mission family remained unharmed, though sorely tried with anxiety and personal affliction. Their European birth probably saved them from molestation, since the coloured Wesleyan missionary at Aux Cayes, fifteen miles from Jacmel, was compelled to flee for his life.

Mr. Webley, with Mrs. Webley, took this opportunity to visit Jamaica. On his return, in February, 1849, he found the country quiet; the political state and prospects of the island had improved, and he was able to recommence divine worship, and to resume the schools.

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* L'Empereur Soulouque et son Empire, par G. d'Alaux, p. 151.

But the failure of Soulouque's attack on the Dominicans again brought suffering on the people, and famine came to add to the distresses of the land. The utter neglect of educational institutions by the Government, the decay of trade consequent on its extravagance, the peculation of officials, were bearing their natural fruit, in the degradation and misery of the nation. Dark superstitions, encouraged by Soulouque (by this time become Emperor), came forth from the recesses of the mountains. The nightly orgies and indecent dances of the Vaudoux were introduced into the towns; and the infidelity of Voltaire was openly confessed by the more intelligent. A cordon was drawn about the missionary, and he was forbidden to visit the mountains for any religious purpose, except by special permission of the authorities.

The work of the Lord was not, however, stayed. The school and the town both furnished converts to the gospel. From among the scholars was Corinne, the pupil teacher supported by an allowance from the Government. The death and funeral of one became the source of deep impressions to many, to whom the simple ritual of Protestant inhumation was unknown. In 1852, the commodious and elegant chapel was erected; but Mr. Webley was sorely tried by the death of Mrs. Webley, and the return of his brother and fellow-labourer to England on account of health.

A considerable number of persons were, however, from time to time added to the church. The most notable instance of conversion was that of a man, who

being able to read and sing, was chosen to officiate at the burial of persons in the mountains. This office he could only fill as a worshipper of the Vaudoux serpent, and as gifted in the practice of the magical ceremonies.

The progress of the mission was hindered in 1856, by the absence of Mr. Webley, in England, from ill-health; and on his return, he found that great mischief had occurred from the imprudent and unworthy conduct of the Haytien convert, whose abilities had led to his employment. These difficulties were, to a considerable extent, overcome after the missionary's return; and at the time of my visit, the mission church had recovered its harmony, and a few additions had been made to its numbers. One case is very illustrative of the ignorance of the people. Some years before, a Bible had been given by an American Negro, of Port-au-Prince, to a female; she knew not how to read, but put the sacred volume to the following use. Every Sabbath morning, as soon as it was day, she took a chair, covered it with a white cloth, opened the Bible upon it, lighted a taper, kneeled down before this novel kind of altar, and poured out her prayer for light and life; not, however, through the only Mediator with God, but to the Virgin Mary. This went on for years, till she was met with by a young man, a member of the church; he read the sacred volume to her, prayed with her, and found a heart open to the truth. Ere long she was baptized.

At the time of my arrival, Mr. Webley was just recovering from a severe illness, during which the church had been constrained to content itself with

meetings for prayer. Sickness had silenced the preacher's voice; but seldom have I witnessed in any Christian church more brotherly love, more devotion and simple-hearted piety, or more attachment to the pastor. The Christian attainments of the members appeared to me unusually high, while their walk and conversation in the world recommended the gospel they profess. Since the commencement of the mission, between fifty and sixty persons have been baptized into Christ. The Church now includes only forty-seven members.* A few live at a distance from Jacmel, others in the mountains around; so that their attendance at divine worship in the chapel is necessarily unfrequent and uncertain. One member is a merchant at Gonaives, on the northern side of the island; another is a judge under the present Government, at Port-au-Prince; others fill respectable stations in society. Some are very poor, and dependent on manual labour for their daily bread. A few have fallen away from the path of righteousness and peace; but more have died in the faith, testifying in death their hope of immortality, and their confidence in the Lord Jesus Christ as the only Saviour.

Both the town and the mission sustained a great loss by the breaking up, two or three years ago, of the boarding school founded by Miss Harris, and carried on in conjunction with Mrs. Webley and some pious native assistants. Probably one fourth of the members of the

* Since my visit, a considerable number of persons have been added to the Church.

church trace their conversion to this institution. The school was also highly prized by the inhabitants of the town, was examined officially several times, and spoken of in terms of the highest commendation by the authorities. The missionary and his work were thus brought under the frequent attention of the people, and many occasions were opened to him for intercourse with the families whence the children came. The friendships then formed, have not, indeed, wholly ceased; but the closing of the school has diminished the many opportunities for Christian labour once enjoyed. Some of the pupils are known to be cherishing in secret the truths of the gospel, though now removed from the missionary's direct influence, or but rarely accessible to his instruction. Many intelligent persons also affirm that the best of the young people in the town owe the formation of their character to the school. Certainly it has left its mark on the Church, and has largely contributed to the production of that devoted and intelligent piety of which I have already spoken.

The erection of the chapel was accomplished by the personal exertion and labour of Mr. Webley, aided by grants from the committee. The chapel is entered by a few steps from the street, through a vestibule supported by columns. It is fifty feet long, by thirty broad; the ceiling is supported by fluted columns of wood. The windows are not glazed, but closed with jalousies, to admit as much air as possible. The worship is assisted by an excellent harmonium, the gift of the late Mrs. Webley to the church. During our stay, the congregation

was very fluctuating. It ranged from twenty-five to fifty persons. The services on Lord's-day were two, besides a meeting for prayer in the afternoon. There were also two services in the week. Since our departure the congregation has largely increased, and numerous converts attest the power of the Word of God when faithfully preached.

The depression I found existing, was in great measure owing to the loneliness of the position of Mr. Webley. With no one to assist him in case of absence or sickness, if either event happen, as in a tropical climate it is sure to do, his work is brought to a stand. The improved condition of the island under the present enlightened ruler, invites the extension of the mission, and numerous places may be fixed upon which are very eligible for missionary effort. Both these considerations render an increase of missionaries most desirable.* The happy results of the school also render its revival expedient. An excellent opportunity for securing suitable premises next to the chapel has promptly been seized for this purpose. With the experience of the past before us, there is every reason to expect, that, with God's blessing, such a school may again become a nursery to the Church.

Very few of the Haytien people can read, especially among the poor. They are addicted to spend much time in lounging about the doors and verandahs of their

* During the present year, Mr. Webley has had the pleasure to welcome to his assistance the Revds. V. Bouhon and W. Baumann, with their wives; and measures are being taken to extend the mission and to re-open the school.

houses, in a state of listless idleness. From their bigoted attachment to Roman Catholicism, few possess the Word of God, or are even acquainted with its contents. But Bibles have found their way to some houses, and are known to be read and valued. The Church contains several converts who have been brought to God through the simple perusal of the Word. These circumstances led me to think that one of the most useful agencies that could be employed would be an order of Scripture-readers, and colporteurs of the Bible. On mentioning the matter to Mr. Webley, I found an interesting confirmation of my opinion in the fact, that one or two of the members of the Church were occasionally in the habit of going to their neighbours, giving them the Scriptures, reading to them, and praying with them, and that several instances of converstion had resulted. The plan seems to be well calculated to meet the habits of the people. Besides, it appeared to me that, since the shutting up of the school, the mission and attendance at public worship had suffered from the want of some such external instrumentality, by which the care of their souls could be brought home to the people. It is not enough that the doors of God's house should be regularly opened, and the preacher of righteousness always in his place to proclaim the Truth. Curiosity may bring a few, but as a motive it soon wears out. Passers-by may be attracted, and become regular hearers of the Word; and instances of it are not unknown. But the missionary also needs some agency constantly working among the people, and pressing upon them the welfare of their

souls. Deeply impressed with this, I accepted the services of two Christian friends, a man and a woman, for this special duty.

The female is the first convert of the mission, Eliacine Cajou. She has already made herself useful in this way; but with the charge of a little family upon her, her husband having left her, she has not been able to do so much as she might. Since her conversion she has lived a most consistent Christian life, and has ever shown herself active, to the extent of her opportunities, in bringing others to the Saviour. The name of the other person is Lolo Jean Michel, a black man, residing on his little garden, about a mile and a-half from Jacmel. He officiated as our guide over the mountains to Port-au-Prince, and I had frequent occasion to observe his humble, unobtrusive piety, and his love to God's Word, during the ten days of our being together. He has borne, since his conversion, a consistent character; has once been imprisoned for two months for righteousness' sake, and is a tried Christian. He has already been the means of the conversion of several persons, and enters on this work with great delight.

Since my return, I learn that this agency has been very successful, has greatly contributed to the revival of interest in the gospel, and has led to an improved attendance at the chapel. The heart of the missionary has been cheered, and many added to the membership of the Church. It is very desirable that the number of Bible readers should be increased. It is an instrumentality especially suitable for the scattered

hamlets and isolated dwellings to be found in the dales, and on the sides of the mountains, as well as on the plantations of the lowlands, to whose inhabitants the opportunity of public worship is a rare occurrence.

CHAPTER II.

Journey to Port-au-Prince—La Grande Riviére—The Morne Col—The Gros Morne—Plain of Léogane—Gressier—Petionville—Port-au-Prince—Wesleyan Mission—American Baptist Mission—American Episcopal Methodists—Romanism—The Cathedral—The City.

THE Sabbath, October 16th, was a very pleasant one, being spent in Christian intercourse and religious duties with the little Church. Soon after midnight, our saddle bags filled with food and clothes, Mr. Webley, the guide Lolo, and I, started for Port-au-Prince, the capital. It was bright moonlight as we set out; such moonlight as only the tropics can give, having a glow and a luminosity which render objects visible for considerable distances. By its beams we threaded our way through the forest, the path shrouded with the thick foliage of the trees. For a time the route was along quiet glades, crossing two or three streams. Here we passed a spot to be spoken of only with horror: in a deep pit near the roadside, Soulouque once collected a number of persons, and burnt them to death. No wonder the people speak of the deposition and exile of this sanguinary despot as the removal of a frightful nightmare. His was a reign of gloomy superstition and blood. Leaving the lowlands, for two hours we

ascended and descended hills covered with impenetrable vegetation, the trees often quite bowed down with the weight of the numerous creepers, or parasites, which covered them; or, holding pendant in the most graceful festoons, the prolific lianes, from the topmost boughs. Silence reigned; not a bird chirped, nor a frog croaked. Once we lost our way, and suddenly found ourselves trespassing on a small plantation on the hill top. At length we issued from these hushed mountain solitudes upon a broad river, in the bed of which, for two hours, we now stumbled along. Once a road existed on its banks. An occasional trace of it, for a hundred yards or so, was here and there met with; but the mountain torrents, some time before, had swept it away, engulphed numerous cottages, devastated plantations, widened the channel of the river, and filled its bed with enormous boulders of stone and uprooted trees, torn from their moorings on the rocky steeps. The channel of La Grande Rivière, as the torrent is called, is now the only path. Up its stone-strewed course we, therefore, pursued our way, scores of times crossing the stream, winding and rushing around the masses of rock that encumbered its waters, or striving, with noisy wrath, to overcome the barriers that the trunks of fallen trees had made. Often the waters reached to our horses' girths, and, with the splashing, wetting us to the knees. At times our steeds could scarcely keep their footing; and, in a few places, where the mountains neared each other, forming a narrow gorge for the waters, or fierce and foaming rapids, it was difficult to climb the

slippery rocks, or to avoid plunging into treacherous holes.

Nothing could exceed the beauty and solemn grandeur of our night march. In some places, lofty heights, rising from the river in enormous precipices, shut us in, without any apparent opening; trees climbing from every crevice, and darkening still more, with their full foliage, our already darkened way. Then we would pass the remains of plantain gardens, nestling under the hill; or some quiet cottage, silently reposing, with its sleeping inmates, beneath the shadow of mango trees, and surrounded by coffee shrubs. Then, in a moment, a scene of desolation would present itself; the river had become a confused drift of huge rocks, tangled roots, and the debris of ruined homesteads, taking the most fantastic shapes in the moonlight; suggesting temples, abodes of men, or balls for the bowling-green of giants, but always awakening loud reproaches from the rushing, gurgling waters, thus hindered in their course. Here the stream rushed madly on in the narrow channel which itself had worn deep and gloomy; there the waters ran lightly over a shingly or sandy bed. The lights and shadows thrown by the moon were grandly beautiful; now playing on the clear stream, now giving awfulness to the dark ravine we traversed, or tinging with soft, loving beauty the mountain tops, as, far off, they lay in the bosom of eternal repose.

Continuing to ascend, the river became contracted; and soon after sunrise the scenery lost much of its grandeur and nobleness. At eight o'clock we crossed

the diminished stream for the last time. The pass of the Morne Col was now before us. Here, therefore, we dismounted and bivouacked to refresh ourselves and horses. As we still had a long ride before us, and that in the sun's heat, we were soon again on our way. Rain had fallen the day before, so that we found the ascent soft and slippery. Our progress was slow and difficult. The steep, at times, was as inclined as a house-roof. Care, too, was required, to pick our track among the holes and gullies that the storms of the rainy season had dug. Thus we slowly wound our way upwards, every step bringing into view some fresh glimpse of mountain scenery; until, from the top of the pass, we gazed upon a panorama of surpassing grandeur. Mountain on mountain, hills piled on hills, cloud topped, or crowned with forests, extended on every side. In the hollows, nestled the few cottages of the people, each with its garden of bananas, patch of Indian corn, thin fields of guinea grass, or "bosom'd deep" in coffee-trees. Wild flowers decked the sheltered spots. The blue and pink convolvulus luxuriated in the hedges, and climbed the trunks of decayed trees. Mango-trees covered with blossom, gave forth a pleasant fragrance. One tree, whose name I could not learn, laden with panicles of brilliant yellow flowers, was very common. Still the general effect was one of solitude, so vast was the scene, so sparse the signs of cultivation or human habitations.

The descent from this lofty height was more difficult than the ascent. Our horses, for a few moments, often stopped to gaze at the dangerous path before them,

choosing with wonderful sagacity a safe spot for their unshod hoofs to rest upon. At length we struck upon the babbling brook at the lowest point of the road, where the mountain we had crossed meets the still higher one, the Gros Morne, now to be scaled. The water ran cold and bright amid the luxuriant vegetation on its banks; but was soon lost to sight in the dense foliage which bent lovingly to embrace it, and to lave its roots in the refreshing flood. We eagerly dismounted to moisten our parched lips, and our good steeds, no less gladly thrust their noses into the thirst-assuaging stream.

Again mounted, we immediately commenced the ascent. Our horses cleverly avoided every rolling stone, and warily stepped across the slippery surfaces of large flat pieces of rock, over which the road wound its way. My horse began to tire of the ascent, and became restive. Once he slipped down on his knees, and I had to dismount before he would rise. When up again, he began to kick and plunge, while the precipices, every moment, grew more perilous and steep. Our guide, at length, exchanged with me; and in a little while reduced the refractory beast to quietness. As step by step we rose higher, the scenery again became a panorama, or rather a succession of panoramas, of grandeur and beauty. Preference was impossible; each scene, as it unrolled its glories, seemed to surpass all that went before. Crossing the narrow ledges, which here and there bridged the gorges, wonderful depths on either hand made one quake, lest a trip of the horse's feet

should plunge us hundreds of yards down their almost perpendicular sides. Behind us rose the Saddle Mountain, the sailor's beacon when sailing along the southern coast of the island; it overtops all others in that direction, though every mountain seemed to vie with every other in nobleness of form.

At the summit of the pass the view was exceedingly sublime. Before us the mountains rapidly fell, broken up into numberless eminences, throwing out spurs into the lowlands, all glimmering in the bright morning sun, until they subsided into the magnificent plain of Leogane, the houses of which town, were distinctly visible some twenty miles away. Beyond, in deep repose, reflecting every fleecy cloud that sparkled in the heavens, lay the calm still waters of the bay of Port-au-Prince; the noble, but uninhabited, island of Gonaives occupying its centre, covered with virgin forests of the finest mahogany. On either side of the wide estuary, could be seen through the crystal atmosphere, the heads of the far-reaching promontories, which the mountains that surround the capital push forward into the Caribbean Sea, forming a panorama of extraordinary extent and beauty. Not less impressive was the scenery which lay at our feet. Hills and mountains, some cultivated, others bare to the summit, or crowned with trees, lay around in confused masses, casting deep shadows, or illumined to their deepest recesses, as the sun surmounted the ridges that enclosed them. But its scorching rays reminded us of the necessity of seeking shelter, and, in a little while, we reluctantly commenced the descent.

Occasionally the road had the appearance of a grove; here it was an avenue of blossoming mango-trees, there a path shaded by the dark-leaved bread-fruit. Creepers innumerable fringed the branches, and flowers clothed the banks. The descent was easy. About half-way down we came to the hostelry where we had determined to breakfast and pass the hot hours of the day. It was now ten o'clock; our horses were jaded with the long night march and the severity of the ascent of the pass, and they needed refreshment as well as ourselves. They were soon luxuriating on guinea grass, while we entered the main room of our inn. This Haytien hotel consisted of just three rooms, framed with weather-boards, and thatched with grass. The floors were the natural surface of the ground. It was none the worse, in the heat of the day, that the breeze, with the light, found its way through innumerable crevices in the boarding and roof. The hen-roost was in one corner of the rude sitting-room. It further contained a rough-hewn deal table, four rickety chairs, and a few water bottles. Fresh eggs were soon forthcoming; our hostess, who kept out of the way, quickly fanning into a flame the smouldering logs in an out-house to boil them. It was the only fare she could offer us. We added from our own stores, ham, bread, and ale, and were refreshed. I then lay down in an inner room, on a small bed—its only furniture; while my companion tried to sleep on the chairs—a rather difficult feat.

At two o'clock the horses were saddled, and, after a

very small cup of coffee, our host's loving cup, we continued our journey. In an hour we reached the level of the plain. The road ran along lanes torn up by floods into deep holes and gullies. Several rapid rivers were forded; one was particularly violent and deep. Here we met a detachment of National Guards returning to Jacmel from the capital, whither they had gone to support and guard the President, on the discovery of an abortive plot to assassinate him. We passed by or through many abandoned plantations—the buildings in ruin, the sugar mills decayed, and the iron pans strewing the roadside, cracked and broken. But for the law that forbids, on pain of confiscation, the export of all metals, they would long ago have been sold to foreign merchants. Only once in this long ride did we come upon a mill in use; it was grinding canes, in order to manufacture the syrup from which *tafia* is made, a kind of inferior rum, the intoxicating drink of the country. The mill was worked by a large overshot water wheel, the water being brought by an aqueduct from a very considerable distance. With the exception of a few banana gardens, or small patches of maize round the cottages, nowhere did this magnificant and fertile plain show signs of cultivation. In the time of the French occupation, before the Revolution of 1793, thousands of hogsheads of sugar were produced; now, not one. All is decay and desolation.

The pastures are deserted, and the prickly pear covers the land once laughing with the bright hues of the sugar cane. The hydraulic works, erected at vast expense, for

irrigation, have crumbled to dust. The plough is an unknown implement of culture, although so eminently adapted to the great plains and deep soil of Hayti. A country, so capable of producing for export, and therefore for the enrichment of its people—besides sugar and coffee, cotton, tobacco, the cacao bean, spices, every tropical fruit, and many of the fruits of Europe—lies uncultivated, unoccupied, and desolate. Its rich mines are neither explored nor worked; and its beautiful woods rot in the soil where they grow. A little log-wood is exported; but ebony, mahogany, and the finest building timber rarely fall before the woodman's axe, and then only for local use.

The present inhabitants despise all servile labour, and are, for the most part, content with the spontaneous productions of the soil and forests. For their imports of flour, salt-fish, and dry goods, they pay with the produce of their coffee and cacao plantations, which their French predecessors planted. And to gather in their crops, they depend on the voluntary assistance of their neighbours, whom they feed during the harvest, and then, in their turn, repay with similar assistance. Every description of cattle is rare: a few pigs, and numerous goats, were the only domestic animals visible in our long ride; but fowls, turkey, and geese were abundant.

Towards dusk a light rain began to fall. A mile or two of marshy road brought us to the village of Gressier, where we proposed to stay the night if shelter could be had; this at last was obtained in the cottage of a very

black elderly woman. She supplied us with eggs, and cups and saucers, and also grass for our cattle. After a refreshing cup of tea, stiff and weary, I lay down in my clothes on the only bed our hostess possessed, my companion having a shake down on the floor. Neither musquitoes, nor the heat of a small closed room, could deprive me of a good sound sleep. Soon after midnight we were again on the alert, and at three o'clock in the morning we mounted for our final stage.

It was moonlight. Our route lay between the sea and the range of hills which surrounds Port-au-Prince, and which here hugs the beach, forming a narrow pass to the plain in which the capital stands. The tide at its flow covers portions of the road: it was therefore sloppy enough; but for the most part mangrove swamps intervene between it and the sea. In two places we crossed dangerous *salines*, quicksands that have been made just traversable by the driving in of piles, and filling up with stone ballast. With the dawn of day, the road widened and improved: it became stony and more worn with traffic. Gardens of edible fruits and plants lined the roadside, or surrounded the houses, some of which were good substantial buildings of stone.

About five miles from Port-au-Prince we passed through Petionville, a village named after President Petion and where the republic built him a villa, or country seat. It stands on an elevation to the right of the road, and is a substantial stone mansion; but much needing repair. Here also Soulouque had established a tafia manufactory, the sale of which article he tried at

one time to monopolize. A mile or two further on we were met by the Wesleyan Missionary, the Rev. C. H. Bishop; who, being aware of our coming, kindly rode out to meet us. As we neared Port-au-Prince we again encountered a large body of National Guards, just dismissed to their homes. A guard-house and a battery protect the entrance to the city; but, unchallenged, we passed on. By eight o'clock we found ourselves comfortably lodged in the mission house, and most hospitably entertained by the missionary and his estimable wife.

The Wesleyans commenced their efforts for the evangelization of Hayti at the close of 1816, during the administration of President Petion. The missionaries were cordially received by President Boyer, who succeeded Petion in 1818, they were much encouraged, especially in their educational plans. The populace was, however, too much under the influence of the priests, and too superstitious, to allow them to proceed without interruption. After little more than two years' residence, they were constrained to leave. Subsequent to the departure of the missionaries, the small society they had gathered suffered much from persecution, and though it is a fundamental law of the Constitution of Hayti that all religions shall be tolerated, notwithstanding that the Roman Catholic is declared to be the religion of the State, liberty of worship was denied the converts. They met by stealth, in small parties, and maintained till the renewal of the mission in 1834 a struggling existence. Missionaries were again settled in Port-au-Prince.

Cape Haytien, Samana, and other places were supplied with the gospel. Amidst revolutions perpetually occurring, they pursued their high calling with discretion, and with the blessing of God upon them.*

At the time of my visit, besides Port-au-Prince, Jeremie, Cayes, Cape Haytien, and Gonaives were occupied, and some sixteen other places were constantly visited. The entire number of persons in full membership was 199, of whom 140 were found in Port-au-Prince alone. The Mission premises in the capital are well situated in one of the main streets of the city, and consist of a good chapel, that will hold 300 persons, wanting repair from the injury done by an earthquake some time ago, a good residence for the missionary, and a large building occupied as a school, with a house for the master. Over the latter is inscribed a celebrated saying of Petion: "L'Education élève l'homme à la dignité de son être." The school was formerly a free school, and then contained some 300 scholars. A master was obtained from England, a fee imposed on day scholars, and a boarding-school established in its stead. The fee diminished the attendance, which has continued to decrease until only 40 boys receive the benefit of the instruction given. Of these, eight were boarders. The mission house has only recently been purchased, which, with some repairs, has entailed a debt of £800 on the Mission. Under the ministry of Mr. Bishop, the

* Brown's Hist. of Missions, i. 505.

Society has rapidly increased. Experience does not encourage street preaching. Mr. Bishop has tried it, and means to try it again; but the people appear afraid to listen. Many converts have been made among the devotees, some of whom, the missionaries think, are sincerely seeking the salvation of their souls.

The American Free Mission Baptists established, some years ago, a mission in Port-au-Prince, which for a time promised well. But the misconduct of some of the missionaries has destroyed a very favourable prospect. A renewed attempt, last year, by a coloured man, combined with a project for colonization by American negroes, has also failed. There are, however, many Baptists in the town and neighbourhood, who would rejoice at the settlement of a missionary from our society, and it would be cordially welcomed by our Wesleyan brethren.

There is also a body of persons, few in number, calling themselves American Episcopal Methodists. It consists of American negro immigrants, who have been encouraged to settle in Hayti by former governments. They speak English, and use that language in their worship. They are without a minister, and are in a very unsettled and divided state. Mr. Bishop occasionally preaches to them. One of these people, a servant in the mission family, was present on Sunday afternoon at the English service, which I conducted. After the service, I met her in the dining-room. She said "Ah! there's noting like one's own moder tongue." "Don't you speak French?" I asked. "Oh, yes; I speak

French and Spanish too; but there's noting like one's moder tongue, *it go inside;*" and she pressed her hands on her heart. Our mother tongue is, indeed, the language that reaches the heart. Our mission families lose much by having so few opportunities of uniting in worship in the language of their native land.

While staying with Mr. Bishop, we had the pleasure of meeting an old convert from Cape Haytien. He said, that the country had undergone a great change during the last thirty years. He remembered the time of persecution. Preachers of the gospel were then sneered at, pelted with stones, and despised; now they are everywhere welcomed; audiences willingly collect to hear them, and persecution has entirely ceased. The people, too, notwithstanding the wretched government which of late has tyranized over them, and encouraged vice, are less barbarous, more enlightened, and orderly. The retrogressive policy of the late emperor, has not wholly checked the progress of civilization. The influence of Romanism has been for some time declining. The bad lives of the priests, and the increase of knowledge, accelerate its decay. Some of its superstitious adjuncts, acquired from the heathenism of the African slaves, have been given up, and its processions are not so grossly idolatrous as they were.

Romanism came in with the discovery of the island by Columbus. The colonies of the Spaniards were chiefly confined to the eastern side. On the decay of the Spanish power in the sixteenth century, the buccaneers, chiefly Frenchmen, seized the island of

Tortola off Cape Haytien, and gradually established themselves in the West. In 1697 they sought and obtained the protection of the French Crown, and this part of the island came permanently under the dominion of France. With the French the Jesuits established themselves in Hayti. They found the churches in ruins, the divine offices neglected, the slaves wholly uninstructed, irreligion and vice predominant. Dominican and Capuchin monks assisted in the restoration of the Catholic ritual. At that time the slaves were numbered at 50,000. Father Margat thus describes them :—"These people are coarse and rude, slow of thought, expressing themselves with difficulty in a language which they little understand, and which they never speak well." For their improvement, catechisms were prepared and special masses appointed. Hospitals were founded for the relief of sickness, and the numerous diseases their hard life entailed upon them. The Revolution of 1793, which gave the slave his liberty, and drove every white man from the island, did not destroy the fruits of years of training in the forms and rites of the Church of Rome. The offices of religion had become indispensable to the people, and priests were soon found to perform them. They were for the most part runaways from Europe, unfrocked monks, men reckless of all truth and purity, and prepared to foster any superstition for gain. Jealousy of European interference for many years precluded the Government of Hayti from placing the priesthood under the ecclesiastical control of the Papacy, until the present ruler, President Geffrard, succeeded in framing a concordat with Rome.

By this document the Pope appoints an Archbishop, as legate of the Holy See, and a hierarchical bond is established between the priests of Hayti and the chair of Peter. It remains to be seen whether this act of the Government will not prove obstructive to evangelical missions. It has been done with the best desire to check the scandals that have so long rendered the Church of Rome in Hayti a reproach, and its priests the objects of contempt and loathing. As by law Romanism is the religion of the State, it may, notwithstanding the law of toleration, avail itself of its dominant position to excite the superstitious prejudices of the people, and to persecute or drive away the professors of a purer and truer faith.

Port-au-Prince possesses but one church, the Cathedral. It stands at the head of the town. It is a large low building, chiefly of wood, having no architectural pretensions whatever. On the afternoon of my visit, a funeral service was being performed. Negro acolytes assisted the European priest, who very carelessly intoned the mortuary prayers. The corpse lay in a mahogany coffin, on a bier, surrounded with wax lights. The prayers finished, it was borne away by bearers, supporting it with their hands on a frame provided for the purpose, preceded by a large gilt cross, to the cemetery at the other side of the town. The mourners and friends followed in a confused crowd. We then made a tour of the church. The roof is sustained by pillars of wood. Numerous altars occupy every available place between the windows, each having over it a tawdry image of th

Virgin, or some favourite saint, as large as life, enclosed in a glass case. The few paintings were daubs. The only exceptions were a picture of the assumption of the Virgin, represented as a black woman, and another over the chief altar. The altar was constructed of coloured marbles.

From the church we ascended a steep street to a wretched imitation of the hill of Calvary, with figures of our Lord on the cross, the two thieves, and the Virgin mourner, carved as large as life, with the implements of the crucifixion, crowded together in a small house or shed.

The view of the city from this spot was very fine. The streets run at right angles. Beyond was the beautiful bay, calm and bright, with the evening sun playing on its rippled surface. Mountains shut in the city on the other sides, and on one of them stands a fort, constructed by Soulouque to coerce the city, should its inhabitants show themselves refractory. There are some well built houses in the streets, and the shops are in many instances well stored with European goods. The private dwellings of the chief officers of state are mingled with those of the poor. The fountains constructed by the French remain the source of incalculable benefit to the city, but they need much repair. The water is brought by a channel underground from the fine lakes which lie to the north of the city, and is carried to the houses in kegs, holding about five gallons each, by watermen, who charge at the rate of a gourd, or 3½d., for each keg. The houses are generally built of wood, with

roofs of shingles, or slate. Coral or brick is used for warehouses, to render them proof against the fires which so often devastate these wood built towns. Some of the best houses were built by the princes of Soulouque's ephemeral empire. Almost all have galleries projecting over the pathway, supported by arches or wooden pillars, which if regularly built would afford excellent arcades, and grateful shade to foot passengers. As it is, the pavement underneath the galleries is so irregular, that the centre of the road is usually preferred. The deep gutters are in a most filthy state. The effluvia frequently produces yellow fever, and fills the cemeteries with its victims. Some of the streets are torn up into dangerous gullies by the rain torrents. On the wharf are several fire proof stores.

A few merchant ships were lying in the roadstead, discharging cargo, or loading with coffee. I was told that at some periods of the year, the bay is well filled with craft of all sizes; but I could obtain no reliable statistics of imports or exports, or of the trade of the country. Such are the peculations practised, that even if tables could be furnished they would be utterly untrustworthy. The custom-house is a plain stone structure, on the beach.

Port-au-Prince has no monuments. The public offices are ill-furnished lower rooms of houses near the palace. On the plain before it, is a small chapel, or mausoleum, over the body of Petion the Immortal, as he is called; which, with its poor furniture, is unworthy of the man to whose honour it was erected.

For years a handsome marble sarcophagus, purchased in Europe, has been lying under the palace walls, awaiting the gratitude or the energy of his successors to deposit in it his bones, and to place it in the mausoleum. When I saw it, it was partly broken, and concealed by the coarse herbage which sprang up profusely around it, as if to veil the dilapidations of time, and to conceal the national ingratitude.

There are two or three large market places. But garbage is allowed to accumulate to such a degree, that, together with the unsavoury piles of fish, salted and unsalted, a walk through them is very unpleasant. I observed the usual garden produce for sale; bananas, yams, pumpkins, melons, &c. The people dress very well. The women are fond of showy gowns, but look clean and bright. They wear a light shawl on the shoulders, and on the head a handkerchief of showy patterns and colours. The style of the coiffure is not pretty: the handkerchief is folded in a broad band over the forehead, and a large flap is left to hang down over the neck behind. White clothes are much worn by the men; and respectable lads, of every age, in their dress imitate their seniors: they look like small men. The poorer sort are usually content with a single smock, especially the children, which descends below the knees, often tattered and torn.

CHAPTER III.

Excitement in Hayti—Plot to overthrow the President—Its Discovery—Assassination of Madame Blanfort—The Trial—Speeches of the Bar—Character of Soulouque's Reign—Feud of Race and Colour—Geffrard's Rule—The Worship of the Vaudoux—Superstition of Soulouque—Interview with the President—Measures of his Government—Magnanimity of President Geffrard—Return to Jacmel—Gorge of La Boute—Future of Hayti.

We had arrived in Hayti at a period of great national excitement. On the 22nd of the previous December, the Government of the Emperor Soulouque had been subverted by a successful revolution under the leadership of the present President, and the Emperor himself, with his family, exiled. He was conveyed to Jamaica by a British man-of-war. Not a life was lost in this revolution. The fabric of Soulouque's power crumbled with a touch. The hateful reign of superstition, fraud, and impiety came to a sudden end. The most attached adherents of the Emperor abandoned him in his extremity. The republic was revived with universal acclamations. General Geffrard was called to the Presidency, and legally assumed the constitutional powers of the State. The false pageantry of Soulouque's court was set aside for the simpler forms of a Commonwealth. Scarcely was Geffrard settled in the seat of government, than a conspiracy was discovered to overthrow

the restored republic, erect another kingdom, and revive the flimsy titles with which Soulouque had adorned his followers. The conspirators were tried and shot a few days before I reached the capital. As illustrative of the condition of the island, I will give a brief sketch of the affair.

The chief of the conspiracy was a General Prophète, Secretary of State for the Interior, under Soulouque. He had taken part in the revolution which placed Geffrard in the President's chair, and had received several honourable appointments from his generous chief. Gratitude should have kept him loyal; but the following facts were proved before the military commission appointed to try the criminals. The plot appears to have been formed in the month of July (1859), and its first object to have been to overthrow the Government, and to raise Prophète to the presidency. To effect this it was resolved to assassinate the President Geffrard, with the females of his family, and to perpetrate, if necessary, a general massacre, to restore the predominance of the black race over the brown. It was in effect a renewed struggle between barbarism and civilization.

The conspirators directed their efforts to secure partisans in the northern departments, and in the city and vicinity of Port-au-Prince. Emissaries spread themselves in the towns, in Cape Haytien, Gonaives, St. Marc, and the plain of Artibonite, propagating every species of falsehood against the new Government, and tampering with the loyalty of its officers. The principal

conspirators were men named Isnardy, Zamor, Guillaume, and Celestin. Large sums of money were received by Guillaume and Isnardy from Prophète to bribe the officials, and defray the expenses of the enterprise. St. Marc was fixed upon as the rendezvous, where the conspirators should take up arms and proclaim their chief. In Port-au-Prince the ramifications of the conspiracy were extensive, and its partisans were very active. Their secret meetings were held at the houses of Prophète and of a family named Ulysses.

In August their plans were approaching maturity. Contradictory information was brought as to the disposition of the towns in the departments; but Prophète declared, at a meeting on the 25th, that the Fort National had been sold to him by its garrison, for five thousand gourds, that the Arsenal was secured, that the four influential brothers Chochotte had joined the plot, and that General Montalé would remain in Port-au-Prince to seize upon the strongest positions, and to close the gates upon the President, should he leave the city to repress the rising at St. Marc. At the meetings in the house of Ulysses, the assassination of the President was discussed, and various dates were fixed for its execution, dependent on his movements. The President, however, was fully aware of the conspiracy: its threads were in his hands. On the 3rd September, in the morning, he sent for Prophète, and gave him the alternative of imprisonment or immediate exile. The chief of the conspiracy embarked the same day for a foreign land. His adherents, disconcerted, yet unaware of the full extent

of Geffrard's knowledge of their treason, resolved to precipitate the catastrophe.

The President was in the habit of spending a portion of his evenings at the house of his mother, with whom lived his daughter, a young lady just married to a M. Blanfort. The house is situated at the corner of the street Des Casernes, within a short distance of the palace. Being so near, it was the President's custom to go thither unattended by his usual guard. A considerable number of armed conspirators, as night closed in, surrounded this dwelling; concealing themselves in the shadow of a wall, which runs along the opposite side of the street. Had the President taken his accustomed walk, he must doubtless have fallen beneath the bullets of his adversaries; he had, however, summoned at that unusual hour a meeting of his cabinet, to consult on plans for the arrest of the conspirators the next day, and was detained in deliberation much beyond the usual time of his arrival at his mother's dwelling. As their intended prey did not fall into their hands so readily as they expected, the conspirators had recourse to an infamous crime to draw the President into their power. They resolved to assassinate the daughter to attract the father. Timoleon Sanon was the individual selected to perpetrate it. Armed with a heavy gun of large calibre, and accompanied by five others, lest he should *fail*, he cautiously crept under the gallery of the house, towards the dining-room, situated on the ground-floor, and gently raised a bar of the open jalousies. The victim was sitting at a table, reading. A few moments served

to point the murderous weapon. Threatened with a poniard in his side by one of his companions if he shrank from the crime, Sanon drew the trigger. The frightful discharge shattered the poor victim's head, and broke her left arm. She fell dead from her seat. Eleven slugs of lead were extracted from the wainscot of the room, besides those found in the body of the slaughtered girl.

Solomon Zamor furnished the weapon. Caminer, poniard in hand, conducted and urged on Sanon, and the three Chochottes, as accomplices, followed to render aid.

This atrocious crime failed of its purpose. Though the explosion was heard at the palace, Geffrard was not suffered to leave. His council and family surrounded him; and the cowardly assassins, foiled, quickly dispersed.

As the news of this cruel deed spread through the country, and its object came to be understood, without summons or command from head-quarters, the National Guard everywhere mustered, and several regiments immediately marched on Port-au-Prince. In a few days, in addition to the regiments of the line, many thousand men were assembled in the capital, bivouacking in the squares and streets, and forming a dense array around the palace. Martial law was proclaimed. Thirty-two persons were arrested, and a military tribunal constituted for their trial. Four of the Chochotte family figure in the list of the accused, all aides-de-camp of the President. Seven only of the conspirators were civilians; the rest were connected with the army. Besides the thirty-two, two others had gone

with Prophète. By Soulouque, the army had been almost entirely officered with black men. Colour was the bond of union against Geffrard, who may be regarded as the representative of the brown race.

The trial commenced before a crowded assembly, on the 29th September, in the hall of the civil tribunal. The judges, all military men, were six in number, besides the President, General Nissage Sajet. A numerous Bar appeared to defend, as well as to accuse the prisoners; for, although the court was a military tribunal, every care was taken to secure to the accused a fair and open trial; it lasted nine days. Exceptions to the jurisdiction of the court, to the forms of procedure, to the evidence submitted, were patiently heard and calmly considered. On the afternoon of Friday, the 7th October, at half-past three, the judges retired for deliberation, and at four o'clock in the morning of Saturday, delivered their judgment. Three of the conspirators were condemned to three years' imprisonment, twelve were acquitted for want of sufficient evidence, and seventeen were doomed to death. One of these was afterwards reprieved.

It may be interesting to give a few details of the proceedings of the court-martial.

Nearly the whole of the first day was occupied in discussing the competency of the tribunal. The three following days were devoted to the reading of the depositions of previous examinations. During the reading of the interrogatory of Timoleon Sanon, the assassin, who had confessed the crime, and

exposed the plans of the conspirators, the accused Isnardy cried out very loudly that he had not seen Sanon for twenty years. "Yesterday," said Anulysse Ulysses, "Sanon told me that his confessions had been extorted from him by force." This Sanon strongly denied, while the audience was thrown into confusion by the violent cries of Anulysse. Later in the day, this prisoner brought to the notice of the court, that he had proposed to the Inquest Commission an infallible method of ascertaining the really guilty persons—that of inquiry by animal magnetism.

On the fourth day, one of the military prosecutors, M. P. Lorquet, addressed the judges. He said that it had become his duty to defend society, menaced in its highest interests, and he would fulfil that duty with all the energy he possessed. He depicted the sufferings of the people under the Government of Soulouque, and the dangers which beset any attempt to redress the enormous evils that Government had inflicted on the country. But a man was found for the occasion, prepared, if needful, to sacrifice himself and his family for the deliverance of his native land from the tyrant's yoke. His abilities and his character ensured him success. Arrived at power, he devotes all his care, by moderation and justice, to raise up his country. He wins all hearts, and inaugurates a policy of fusion in the Haytien family. A few months roll by, and a conspiracy against his power is set on foot, the conspirators are men whom he has loaded with favours. Of these, they make no account. Ambition

and cupidity animate them. Regret is felt at lost rank, rank which does not comport with the order and simplicity of a republican régime. They dream that crime is glory; they are now satisfied. Let every one be assured that justice will be done, and disturbers, terrified, will renounce their ideas of social disorganization.

At the close of this address witnesses were called. These were fifty in number, and their examination, with the cross-examination of the counsel for the accused, diversified with an occasional discussion between the members of the Bar, lasted three days. One of the prisoners, on account of his outrageous behaviour, was sent back to prison, and two or three witnesses were placed under arrest for prevarication. The 5th of October was entirely devoted to the speeches of the prosecutors, on the evidence. On the 6th, the accused gave in their statements, and called witnesses in defence, who were followed by two more counsel for the prosecution. At midday, the advocates for the prisoners began to reply, and their speeches lasted till far into the night. They were resumed the next day, until 3 p.m., when the court retired to deliberate on its judgment. A few extracts from the speeches of the counsel on both sides, will give favourable specimens of the eloquence of the Haytien Bar.

M. Lavaud, on the side of the prosecution, spoke as follows:—

"A monstrous crime, unheard of even among the most savage races, has soiled the judicial annals

of our country. At the news of this atrocity, the entire nation trembled with indignation, and a cry of horror resounded from one end of the republic to the other. It is not a man capable of self-defence who has been smitten. It is a woman, scarcely more than a child, who has just left the paternal roof for that of her husband.

"Alone, and without suspicion, she is reading at home by the clear light of her lamp, waiting the coming of her husband. Why should she fear? What evil has she done? What enemies has she made? Poor child, she has the right to fear nothing; she has the right to expect safety in our midst. Her mother, has she not taught her from her infancy the practice of every virtue? and her father, has he not delivered Hayti from a yoke of iron and blood?

"But why, gentlemen, have they broken loose, these cannibals, upon a poor female of form so angelic, of such sweetness and goodness of disposition, that made her to be loved and esteemed by all who had the honour of knowing her?

"Oh! human wickedness! how hideous thou art! For even then, when the President of Hayti, that he might not shed the blood of a man whom he had thought his friend, had consented to the embarkation of the General Prophète, this man and his accomplices smote him in his tenderest affections by the assassination of his child. Neither clemency, nor magnanimity, nor remorse, could arrest these furious men. See how the President, to the last, remains superior to his enemies! When he had in his power the man who planned the crime; when

mothers, the friends of order, and the entire army, moved with a just indignation, protested against the embarkation of General Prophète, in order that justice might take its course, the President would not forfeit his word. He permitted the monster to depart, forcing into silence the legitimate emotions of his paternal heart.

"Gentlemen, the blood of Madame Blanfort cries aloud for vengeance; not on her own account, for she can forgive; but for the sake of the republic, of society itself, of the strangers from all nations who visit us, and who depend on us for perfect security during their stay in our country.

"It is for you, gentlemen, to make all the world know that Hayti is not responsible for this odious assassination, by unsheathing, with stern severity, the sword of justice, to cut off from us these unnatural beings, and to brand their names with eternal infamy."

M. Jeanti, another advocate of the prosecution, employed the following language on an advocate's duty.

"The profession of an advocate does not always oblige him to defend the accused. The advocate is, before all else, the organ of truth. He does not lay aside this attribute by becoming the accuser of the guilty. I have no doubt that my opponents will find, in their oratorical resources, something to say in favour of the accused; but *this* they will not be able to establish—their innocence. They will prove that there are among them assassins, conspirators, seducers; that s all. As for us, in sustaining the charge, we shall not

depart from the truth. I have always considered the Bar as the bulwark of public liberty. When the Government is violent and despotic, the Bar takes up the cause of the oppressed; and when it is just and legal, the Bar ranges itself on the side of the Government, and sustains it. I am then, at this moment, the defender of legality. I am under no delusion as to the delicacy of my task. These men have endeavoured to disturb social order, and to murder the Chief of the State. They have committed an odious and useless crime. They will think me cruel; but enlightened men will do me justice, for my mission is a meritorious one."

The eloquent advocate then drew several comparisons between the present and the late Government. He enumerated the improvements which had been effected. He said that in taking up arms against a government, men should be actuated by right motives. The revolution of December 22nd succeeded, because it had already taken place in every mind, and the change was necessary. Since the 15th January, the new Government had occupied itself with useful reforms, which had drawn forth the sympathies of all well-intentioned men. The conspiracy of Prophète remained a conspiracy, and could never have become a revolution; because it had no serious complaints to make against the Government, and the people understood this perfectly well.

"When," he continued, "the Republic had to fight Christophe, the Lion of the North, the holiness of his cause gave Petion the victory. He fought for liberty."

Those who defend liberty have always moral force on their side. If this plot had succeeded, we know what would have been the result—massacre and pillage. The conspirators had made this a part of their plan. You have heard the accused, the facts of the accusation have been amply proved. There has been an assassination; there has been a conspiracy. The conspirators are here. These criminals have an ambition to attain the celebrity of the scaffold. Let them mount it!"

M. Camille Nau was the most eminent of the advocates for the prisoners. From his eloquent address we extract the following passages. It must not be overlooked, that the facts of the conspiracy were so clearly proved, that neither the prisoners nor their counsel attempted to deny them. Those who were acquitted, escaped because the proofs of their participation were not sufficiently clear. Hence the apologetic tone of the advocate's speech.

"Gentlemen of the court," said M. Nau, "before entering on the facts of this hideous cause, I am under the necessity of making my profession of faith, that of the advocates of the prisoners, in order that our pleas may not be exposed to evil or injurious interpretations. It is not to utter falsehoods on behalf of society, it is not from any sordid motive, as the prosecution has unhappily said, that we are here. No; the duties of our profession are more noble, more holy, and we are entitled to the respect of all magistrates, whether civil or military. Familiar with the law, we come hither on behalf of society to see that you smite only with the arm of the law. We come hither to demand, even for the

most culpable among the accused, the guarantees of a just and equitable condemnation. Soldiers of the defence, we are at our post, for the hour of justice has sounded. We have not, as deserters from it, passed under the flag of the accusers."

Here the orator was interrupted by the advocates of the prosecution, as reflecting on their honour.

M. Nau continued:—"We have a holy and an honourable mission to fulfil, the law commands it, humanity claims it. Your mission, gentlemen, is to judge the accused; ours is to defend them. If we defend them only by halves, we shall be as culpable as you will be if you condemn them unjustly. But if, on the contrary, we defend them boldly, as we propose to do, we shall each have done our duty. We have equal right with you to public consideration, and to the esteem of the Government; and your sentence, however severe it may be, will not escape the judgment of posterity. What then is the meaning of these rude and unreasonable interruptions, I will not say of the defence, but of the advocates charged with the defence? Surely they are not instigated by the actual Government? Its position is a noble one. It attacks in open day. It does not lie in ambush in a crossway that it may strike treacherously from behind a being at once feeble and defenceless. On the contrary it cries, defend yourself, for I accuse you. You know well, gentlemen, that between accusation and condemnation the distance is great; it is immense. The land which separates them is a land of shadows; we cannot always see the way clearly. It is, moreover, the place of

conflict; there are the lists into which I enter. There I invite the accusers to meet me.

"Shade of Cora Geffrard, attend us there! Thou angel now in heaven, let not innocent victims be sacrificed for thee! Say to these judges, that in the band of thine assassins are men of noble heart, aspiring to the future, and whose past life protests against the enormity of the crime. Tell us what faith to put in the confessions of thy murderer. Thou monster! for a moment escaped from hell, what hast thou done with thy soul? Dost thou not know the lot which awaits thee? The punishment of man will be nothing to the punishment of God. In thy fall thou dost drag with thee a large number of thy fellow citizens. If they are innocent, they will plead against thee at the tribunal of God; they plead against thee before the tribunal of man. But God will be severe and just. Canst thou dream *there?*

"The blood of the victim cries for vengeance. We also demand it; but to point out the guilty, we desire not *thy* voice. It makes us shudder. We challenge even the truth, if thou art the utterer of it. Yet it is well that thou art the accuser, that thy drivel is the basis of this charge."

It must be admitted that these are eloquent appeals, and give a very favourable impression of the ability of the Bar of Hayti, as well as the impartiality of the Government which permits such freedom of speech. Long before the close of the trial, the army and citizens of the republic had become impatient of its slow

progress; and, to the last moment, it was doubtful whether the President would ratify the capital sentence of the tribunal, and authorize its execution. It was only after prolonged discussions, and strong representations from his ministers that the safety of the State required the death of the criminals, that the President yielded and signed the warrants of execution. No further delay was given; within an hour after, the conspirators were shot, near the walls of the cemetery, and their bodies deposited in graves outside the consecrated ground.

It was a touching sight, as morning after morning, during my brief stay in Port-au-Prince, I watched at early dawn the sad procession of the friends and children, to and from the quiet resting-place of the dead. To this President Geffrard made no opposition, although there can be no doubt that the persistency with which these visits were kept up, the way in which the grief of the survivors was ostentatiously paraded, were intended to awaken hostility to the ruler. But the cruelty and the needlessness of the assassination of Cora Geffrard, the absence of any justifiable political motive for the conspiracy, the clearly proved ambition, and thirst for plunder, of the leading actors in this drama of crime, effectually deprived the guilty of all sympathy. Their crime strengthened the hands of the ruler it was intended to destroy.

It was time that a better polity should displace the imperial follies and degrading rule of Soulouque. Himself an ignorant black, not able even to read,

steeped to the lips in the blood of the mixed race, and governed by a dark superstition, every interest of the country was sacrificed to his avarice, his lust, and his ambition. Life had no protection. The grants of his legislature for public works he coolly applied to his own uses. No one dared to come within sight of his palace without uncovering his head, and no woman's virtue was safe from his passion. Education he utterly abhorred, and suspected intelligence wherever he came into contact with it. Under pretence of raising monies for the public revenue, he seized one-fifth of the coffee brought to the coast for shipment; obliged importers to pay a portion of the customs duties in coin which he hoarded; and forced on all servants of the State his worthless assignats for salary. The only representative of value in circulation was the gourd, once equivalent to a Spanish dollar of four shillings and twopence currency; but at the time of my visit worth only threepence halfpenny, and perpetually fluctuating in value with the quantity he chose to issue. He kept, in his palace, a clerk constantly employed in signing this paper money, which was issued without any guarantee, and was not convertible into coin. No wonder that the prices of all purchaseable articles, as valued by this depreciated paper, was incessantly rising, and that individuals, some of whom I have the pleasure of knowing, once wealthy, were in poverty and their estates valueless. Commercial transactions had become little better than barter, and trade was every day on the decline. Revolution had become a necessity.

Soulouque's reign had been only possible as a reaction against the unwise government of his predecessors. From the first day of the independence of Hayti, a bitter feud existed between the pure black, the liberated slave, and that large class of mixed European and African lineage, which the vices of French colonial society had left behind. The "yellows," as these half-castes are called, were partially educated, some of them highly so, by their French parents. They retained the civilized tastes and habits in which they had been bred, and fully participated in the prejudices of colour, which led the French colonists not to marry their black partners, but to place them in the relation of concubines. From this fatal legacy sprang the bloody strifes which followed the attainment of freedom, the yellow and the black, each in turn, striving to attain the mastery. Gradually the power of the yellows concentrated itself in the south, where their numbers were the greatest, under the Republican Presidents, Petion and Boyer. The blacks predominated in the north, where Dessalines and Christophe formed their barbaric courts, under the titles of Emperor and King. Under Boyer, the two sections were united into one Government. The process of amalgamation was slow; and, disappointed, he resigned his office, leaving the country a prey to anarchy. Once more the black element, the element of barbarism, obtained the upper hand.

The great object aimed at by the present ruler is fusion, the blending of these two opposing forces into one. Hence his anxiety to extend education. At the

time I left the island, he had instituted sixty-seven primary schools, and has since greatly increased their number. Hence his retention in office, and about his person, of as many black men as possible; who, at the same time, by their intrigues, create obstacles to the success of his measures, and by their ambition endanger his life. Hence the reproach of partisans of his own colour, that he deals too leniently with his adversaries, as seen in permitting Prophète to depart into exile, and the fear, lest, at the last moment, he should refuse to sign the death-warrant of the murderers of his daughter, and the conspirators against his authority.

I have more than once hinted that Soulouque was the victim of superstition. It may be interesting to explain briefly the system by which he kept his adherents so long faithful to him, terrified his opponents, and which, at the same time, ruled him. On the occasion of a festival, Mr. Webley happened to pass a booth, from which came the sounds of singing and dancing, accompanied by tom-toms, calabashes filled with hard dry seeds violently shaken, and sheets of rusty tin or iron beaten with a stick. As he approached, he found men, women, and children, ranged in a circle, all prostrate on their knees, apparently engaged in profound adoration, and singing in chorus the following jargon:-

"Eh! eh! Bomba, hen! hen!
Canga bafia té
Canga mourne dé lé
Canga de ki la
Canga li."

It was an act of worship, and the being worshipped was a small green snake. This religion, if it may be so called, is known as the religion of Vaudoux. It came in with the original colonists from Africa. Under every change of government, it has more or less flourished; sometimes repressed, at others—especially under the domination of black rulers—putting forth vigorous shoots, and subduing the superstitious by the fears it inspires. It is said to have been brought from Whydah, in the Bight of Benin, where the French formerly possessed a settlement. The object of worship and the worshippers are both called by the name "Vaudoux." "The god Vaudoux knows all things, sees all things, can do all things, and consents to show himself to his good friends the negroes under the form of a non-venomous snake, enclosed in a small chest, one side of which is barred so as to permit a view of the interior; but he receives their prayers and offerings, and transmits his virtues only by the mediation of a chief priest, whom the Vaudoux elect, and a chief priestess appointed by him. These are called indifferently, king and queen, master and mistress, or papa and mamma."*

The principal act of public worship is a wild dance, without form or order, attended by grotesque gesticulations and shouts. But a secret oath binds all the Vaudoux, taken under circumstances calculated to inspire terror. On taking the oath, the lips of the

* Soulouque et son Empire, p. 64.

neophyte are touched with warm goat's blood. He promises to submit to death should he ever reveal the secrets of the fraternity, and to put to death any traitor to the sect. Soulouque is said to have been sworn with ox-blood mixed with tafia, the ox being killed for the purpose during the ceremony. The Vaudoux meet in a retired spot, designated at a previous meeting. On entering they take off their shoes, and bind about their bodies handkerchiefs, in which a red colour predominates. The king is known by the scarlet band around his head, worn like a crown, and a scarf of the same colour distinguishes the queen. The object of adoration, the serpent, is placed on a stand. It is then worshipped; after which, the box being placed on the ground, the queen mounts upon it, is seized with violent trembling, and gives utterance to oracles in response to the prayers of the worshippers. A dance closes the ceremony. The king puts his hand on the serpent's box; a tremor seizes him, which is communicated to the circle. A delirious whirl or dance ensues, heightened by the free use of tafia. "The weakest fall, as if dead, upon the spot. The bacchanalian revellers, always dancing and turning about, are borne away into a place near at hand, where sometimes, under the triple excitement of promiscuous intercourse, drunkenness, and darkness, scenes are enacted enough to make the impassible gods of Africa itself gnash their teeth with horror."*

* Soulouque et son Empire, p. 68.

The Catholic priests do not disdain to take advantage of the power of this superstition. Scapulars blessed by the priest, and amulets charmed by the Vaudoux king, vie in winning the regard of the people, and both are worn by multitudes with equal faith and veneration. So have I seen, in Ceylon, the persons of the Singhalese adorned with charms, deriving their pretended virtues from the prayers of the priests of Rome, and the incantations of the devil dancers of the woods.*

Soulouque was the prey of these superstitions. He thought that the chair of his predecessors was an enchanted seat, and refused to sit upon it. A priest by accident presented the wafer to Soulouque at mass the wrong side upwards; he was forthwith suspected of a project to ensure the death of the Emperor before the year's end, and was immediately banished. A Vaudoux sorceress affirmed that the President Boyer had hidden an enchanted doll in the palace grounds, so that no one of his successors could ever remain in power three months, or would suddenly die. Soulouque had the whole of the gardens and courts carefully dug over to

* Mr. Webley, writing in the time of Soulouque, thus describes the influence of this fearful system: "These dancers form themselves into one vast society, called Les Vaudoux, which almost deluges the Haytien part of the island. They practise witchcraft and mysticism to an almost indefinite extent. They are singular adepts at poisoning. A person rarely escapes them when he has been fixed upon as a victim. They are inveterate enemies to the religion of the Cross, and to us as propagators of it. They are encouraged by the Government, the Emperor sometimes paying them large sums of money, and they have almost unlimited power to do what they please in the government of the country, or to the destruction of property and life." Missionary Herald, 1850, p. 27.

discover it.* He was in constant dread of the like enchantments, and it doubtless prompted many of the cruel acts of his reign towards the people of mixed colour, from whom they were presumed to emanate. Throughout the land the terror of denunciation spread, and the lives of the people may be said to have hung on the lightest words of sorcerers. Cruel were the punishments inflicted. Tales are rife of slow starvation, of pitiless floggings, of prolonged labour in chains. Many hundreds of skeletons were found in the Fort Labouque after the tyrant's departure into exile. The cells were so damp, that many incarcerated in them literally perished through the unceasing water-drip from the roof. No wonder that in all companies a sense of relief was expressed to me, at the extinction of this nightmare reign of sorcery and blood.

Before leaving the capital, I was honoured with an interview by the present enlightened President, M. Geffrard. My companions, the Revds. C. Bishop and W. H. Webley, were already known to him. It was about five in the afternoon when we entered the front court of the palace. On the one side were the horses of cavalry soldiers picketed, with their stables behind; on the other, foot soldiers were walking, sitting, idling about, in all sorts of attitudes. The men on guard at the gate were comfortably seated on chairs. Near the steps of the terrace on which the palace stands, were

* The palace was finally purified by the holocaust of 1848, already referred to.

some pieces of cannon and piled arms, with a few artillery-men. Cleanliness and order are virtues yet to be acquired. The palace itself is a large bungalow, on a raised platform, without any upper rooms, chiefly built of wood, and shingled. It was originally built for barracks, by the English, during their occupation of Port-au-Prince, in 1810. Fortune has transformed it into a palace. At the door of the entrance-hall we met an aide-de-camp, who, taking our cards, went to find the President. It was a handsome room, with a marble floor. The walls were papered green, and spotted over with the imperial bee in gold—the work of the imitative Soulouque. Several mirrors and a large glass chandelier also adorned the room. On a marble side-board stood busts of Petion and Boyer, very well executed by European artists. The crown of the late imperial régime had been removed from the mirrors, and from such parts of the furniture as could be altered without injury. It yet remained on the backs of the chairs and settees which surrounded the hall.

The aide-de-camp soon returned to usher us into the President's presence. We passed through the Council Chamber, against the walls of which were full-length portraits of eminent men, and soldiers of the State; then along a paved passage, by the side of the throne room, to the back of it, where we found the President, seated on a chair in the open air, close to an open barrier, which led to the garden. The President received us very cordially, and then introduced us to M. Dubois, the Minister of Justice and Public

Worship. He left for a few minutes, and on returning, seated himself in front of us. His personal presence is very pleasing; he is fifty-four years of age, in colour nearly black; his hair is grey; in stature he is rather short, and of a somewhat slim figure. He was dressed in a grey cloth coat, or rather jacket, no waistcoat, a black tie, without a single ornament, an eyeglass hanging from his neck, white trousers, and cloth boots. His appearance was extremely simple and very gentlemanly. Four or five gentlemen were present, who sat a little retired from us. One of them was the President's private secretary, M. Rouman, who had assisted his escape from Port-au-Prince, at the commencement of the Revolution. He entered very freely into conversation, with much vivacity, and an eye sparkling with intelligence.

The conversation began with our congratulations on the discovery and defeat of the recent conspiracy, and an expression of sympathy with him in the domestic trials he had been called to endure.* He replied, that he had endeavoured to endure these afflictions as a Christian should; a person who believes in the immortality of the soul, and the recompense of a future life, could not despair; only a guilty man would despair. As to public affairs, he was very anxious to make progress, and to go on faster than he found possible; for,

* His only son, a youth of eighteen, died from exhaustion and fatigue brought on by his exertions at the Revolution. His eldest daughter died in child-birth, from anxiety for her father's safety. The assassination of his youngest daughter, two or three weeks before, has been referred to above.

unhappily, while he was working for the good of the country, there were many wicked men counter-working and opposing his efforts.

Mr. Webley remarked, that it would seem from past events that Providence was nevertheless watching over him. He said, that he had always believed in the Providence of God, and that God would certainly guide the destinies of his country.

I thanked him, in the name of the Baptist Missionary Society, for the protection and liberty of movement through the country, which his Government had secured the missionaries and their converts. He replied, that although there were different sects of Christians, he was glad to encourage all who preached virtue and morality. As for himself, he was fond of discussion, (he used the word "controversie,") and would like to gather in one room, with the missionaries, the priests of the Roman Church, and hear from a corner their discussions. On Mr. Bishop remarking, "But you must yield to the truth," he laughed heartily, and replied, that at all events he should gain some advantage from such a discussion. Controversy was useful, and elicited the truth; without controversy the world would die of *ennui*. He added, that he often discussed these questions with his friend, the Minister of Public Worship.

He wished to be remembered very kindly to Mrs. Webley, who had paid a visit of condolence to Madame Geffrard, in Jacmel, when, some years ago, the Emperor Soulouque had imprisoned him and threatened his life.

In reply to some remark, he said, that he was glad to see foreigners in the country, and hoped that they might soon come with a perfect sense of security.

I spoke of the interest felt in England in the elevation of the Haytien people, as an example to the coloured inhabitants of other West India Islands, as well as a proof of what the race was capable. He said, in reply, that the Haytien people had been placed in circumstances of great difficulty; but he doubted whether more could have been done in fifty years. The islands around observed them very closely, and if good or evil were done in Hayti, it was known to all. Hayti consisted of a nation of slaves who had seized their liberty; as such, more could scarcely be expected of them than they had done. He hoped, with five years of orderly and constitutional government, to show what Hayti could accomplish.

I remarked, that I was glad to find that he encouraged education. He replied, *that* was a work which would show its effects in the future, and he hoped that the people would become so enlightened, that they could be governed only in accordance with law and constitutional right, and that everyone might be able to understand and to claim his rights, so as to render despotism impossible. He added, that his position was a peculiar one; that however he might wish to bring forward useful measures, the people were in such a state of ignorance, that he was often obliged to hold back; but when convinced that a measure was right, he gave his whole heart to its accomplishment.

On rising to leave, the President shook hands with us very cordially. Mr. Webley remarked, that he should ever pray for his success in carrying on the affairs of the country, and that God would bless his efforts for its welfare. He was much pleased, and very warmly thanked him.

The interview left on my mind a very favourable impression of the President's ability, intelligence, and earnest desire to use his high station for the best interests of the country he is called to govern. Since his accession to power, a general sense of security has diffused itself through the land; or, as a Haytien merchant expressed it;—"We feel that we have a personal interest in the continuance of his rule." Several important measures have been adopted: such as the establishment of schools; the limitation of the issue of assignats; an addition to the salaries of officers of government, in order to diminish one of the chief causes of bribery and peculation—a scanty income; an increase of the miserable pay of the army; the dismissal of large numbers of soldiers to their homes; the announcement of premiums for improvements in agriculture; and the encouragement given to coloured men from the United States to settle in the island, of which a considerable number have already availed themselves. The effect is already seen in the security of life and property, in increasing cultivation, in the revival of trade and commerce, and in the general contentment of the people.

We may, perhaps, regard with some fear the con-

cordat made with the See of Rome, by which the Pope is entitled to appoint an Archbishop and Legate, with sundry subordinates, and whose arrival may lead to an attempt to interfere with the working of Protestant Missions. But even this measure originates in a desire to remedy existing and crying evils in the priesthood, and to secure something like order and decency in the ranks of the clergy. Roman Catholicism is, by law, the religion of the State; and though, perhaps, not a very earnest Catholic himself, President Geffrard feels bound to do his best to cure a state of things most injurious to the morality of his people. His Minister for Public Worship is understood to be a very ardent Roman Catholic.

The liberality of the Government in this respect, is seen in the appointment of a well qualified person, a member of our Mission Church, to be the governess of the Public School in Jacmel. For two years Madame Diane Ramsay has retained this position, though carrying on the school avowedly as a Protestant. Lately the conversion of one of her assistants, a young woman 25 years of age, has produced so strong a feeling in the minds of certain members of the local board, as to lead to her resignation of the post she has most creditably and honourably filled. By the parties referred to, strong representations have been made to the Minister Dubois. Founding his action on the recent concordat, he says that the directress of the school must not teach any doctrines other than those of the "Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion," and requires her

every Sunday to take the children to mass, and to give them special instructions in Roman doctrine. Hitherto this has not been required; and conscience will not allow her to comply. She has, therefore, very properly, sent in her resignation to the President. It will be difficult to find a teacher to replace one so well qualified, and who has so long been habituated to the instruction of youth. This act may be regretted; but does not materially detract from the generally enlightened tendency of the rule of President Geffrard.*

I may here introduce one or two anecdotes, which exhibit no small degree of magnanimity in the character of the President. A few months before my visit, he noticed that a particular sentry remained on duty far beyond the allotted time, and on occasions when he should have been replaced by another. Geffrard addressed him: "I am sure there is something wrong, and that you have some design against me." The man trembled, and confessed that he had been hired by a certain officer of the staff to shoot the President, and that his reward was to be 8000 Haytien dollars. "Go to the officer," said the President, "tell him your pistols are not good ones, and insist on his giving you a written promise for the reward; but do not tell him that I know of it." This the man did. In the course of the day, when surrounded by his staff, the President ordered the arrest of the sentry. The promise was found on his person. The officer was immediately

* Since the above was written, I learn that the resignation of Madame Ramsay has not been accepted.

charged with the crime he contemplated; the proof, was his own handwriting. Instead of punishing the traitor, the President ordered him to pay the sentry the 8000 dollars, and continued his services on the staff. The sentinel he raised in rank, probably thinking that poverty was the chief cause of his readiness to commit so grave a crime.

We spent an evening very pleasantly in visiting the two cemeteries of the city. They are filled with handsome marble monuments. Curious was it to read the inscriptions of some of the more recent tombs, recording the lofty titles of deceased dignitaries of the defunct empire. The tombs are kept with much care, and every one has a small niche in which lighted tapers and small lamps are often found, the offerings of surviving affection. Flowers, too, blossom over many; and garlands tell of love which can never die. Over the graves of his three children, the President has placed a large flat unadorned slab of stone. A small headstone bears the sad and expressive epitaph: "Cora Blanfort, née Geffrard, assassiné September 3rd, 1859." While standing here, the following story was related to me. A general officer, in attendance on the President, moved by ambition, had resolved on taking the life of his chief. It came to the knowledge of Geffrard. With this individual, and two soldiers of the Guide Corps, he directed his steps to the cemetery. Leaving the Guides at the gate, the President gradually conducted his companion to the spot where lay the remains of his son, his only son. Suddenly addressing the intending assassin, he said: "I know that you carry

pistols to shoot me on the first opportunity. Now, do it here. Let me fall on the grave of my son." The man, astonished at this revelation of his criminal purpose, trembled. "Do you hesitate?" said the President; "here, take my pistols, if your own fail you." At that tomb the President forgave the culprit, and continued him his rank. It was a brave and nobly generous act. But such is the character of Fabre Geffrard, the present President of the Republic of Hayti. His one wish is to teach his people the benefits of regular government, of a government at once lenient and just, legal and constitutional. He desires to heal the strifes of the past, to allay prejudices, and to reign as the wise and enlightened ruler of a free and united people. May his wish be fulfilled, and his life be spared to accomplish it!

On the following Tuesday, Oct. 25th, at two in the morning, Mr. Webley and I left our very hospitable and kind entertainers, Mr. and Mrs. Bishop, and by starlight commenced our return journey to Jacmel. We passed the barrier unnoticed, its guards being sound asleep, and by daylight reached our former lodgings at Gressier. We knocked up our hostess, obtained some new-laid eggs, and refreshed, continued our journey. By ten o'clock we had mounted the Gros Morne halfway. In the plain the roads were heavy and dirty, from the rain which had fallen; but the mountains we found perfectly dry. We breakfasted at our former stopping-place, and enjoyed a short siesta. At two o'clock we were in the saddle again, and by four had crossed the mountains. We again entered the bed of the river,

and recommenced the wearisome crossings of its tortuous stream. In many places we passed on the roadside the graves of the people. It is a favourite mode of sepulture in the country, to deposit the dead where travellers may see the sepulchre, and offer a prayer for the departed. Trees throw their shadows over the tombs, flowers creep about them, and occasionally a lighted taper in the niche showed that a loving memory still lived in the life passed away. Dusk drew on, and it became necessary to seek a shelter for the night. We stopped at a respectable looking cottage, and after a little parleying were told that we might stay. Only a bundle or two of guinea grass could be obtained for the horses, which the owner of the cottage very reluctantly cut for us. Soon the rest of the inmates dropped in, bringing baskets and bags of coffee-berries, in their red pulpy covering, the gathering of the day. They said that they could furnish us with nothing to eat. There were no eggs, corn there was none, no salt fish, no yams, in fact, nothing. How then did they live? Our saddle bags furnished us with remnants of ham, a little bread, and a bottle or two of porter, and with this we were fain to be content. Very soon fires blazed, and a savoury smell filled the air. To our surprise we were politely asked to take some of the food provided for the family. As we had, however, satisfied our hunger, we preferred to go to rest; Mr. Webley took to a hammock, and I to the only bed. The refusal to supply us with food originated, I suppose, in suspicion of our object in coming there; but finding us independent of their larder, and otherwise quiet folk,

our hosts relaxed, and after a while showed much anxiety to make us comfortable.

The cottage stood by the roadside, with the river tumbling over its rocky bed just below. The people were tolerably well dressed; but the furniture consisted of a few chairs only, a table, and a rude straw mattrass and bedstead. Sundry jars lay about, and empty calabashes; and in the corners of the rooms were heaps of coffee. The coffee-trees grow about the mountains, and the produce is carried into Jacmel for sale. As every one is his own master, there are no servants; as there are no labourers, there are no wages. Families help each other to gather in their harvests of maize or coffee, each in turn providing food and drink as remuneration for the labour given. In the towns it is exceedingly difficult to get any kind of work accomplished, and household work is usually done by the members of the family. Freedom in Hayti is understood to exclude every kind of employment which may be called service, or servitude.

At dawn the following morning, our hosts did not quite forget the rites of hospitality, for they made for each of us a small cup of coffee before we started. We soon reached the confluence of two streams, from which point the scenery became grand and most impressive. I now saw by daylight what before moonlight had only partially revealed. If the scenery lost its mysterious awfulness, it gained in brightness, distinctness, and colour. Instead of turning off through the forest, we determined to continue along the river's bed. This

enabled us to traverse the wonderful gorge, called La Boute. Here the lofty precipices press together, and limit the river to some forty yards of width. The rocks rise perpendicularly on each side many hundreds of feet. Wrecks of trees and boulders strew the bed of the torrent, among which the stream rushes furiously along. In flood times its power must be irresistible. We did not see it in its fury and time of dismay to the traveller; but as it was, it was a scene of overwhelming grandeur, awakening a sense of awe and of the majesty of Him by whom Nature works its will. Issuing from this gorge the mountains gradually recede, the river bed becomes broader, the stream shallower. A good road was reached, and we rapidly cantered into Jacmel, arriving at the mission house two hours before noon.

A few days more were spent in intercourse with the Christian friends in Jacmel, in visiting some country spots, and in arranging the affairs of the mission. On the 3rd of November, the mail steamer was announced, and we were hastily summoned to embark.

We left Hayti with regret. It is a beautiful land; and, if its people have not advanced in civilization as we hoped they would have done, yet we must not forget what a legacy of evil, vice, superstition, and ignorance, slavery left them. In the coloured class there is much refinement of manner, a good deal of shrewdness and intelligence; and if the two opposing forces in Haytien society can be fused into one homogeneous national life, there is every probability of the Haytien nation becoming a bright example of African culture. Greatly is to

be deprecated the interference of European powers, especially of a power like Spain, by which slavery is almost certain to be fostered. Nor does the management of her West Indian Colonies by France, at all favour the idea, that Hayti would profit under her rule. If, as these nations think, the black races are only fit to labour, either as serfs or slaves, their advancement is hopeless. But the rights of humanity demand that they be left to work out their own destiny, even though it be obtained through anarchy and civil strife. Men are not made fit for liberty by oppression or servitude. Freedom alone is the true school in which men's faculties can be trained for the higher purposes of life, and the black is as capable of attaining them as the fairer-skinned peoples of more favoured climes.

JAMAICA.

JAMAICA.

CHAPTER I.

Voyage to Kingston—Contradictions—Decay of Trade—The City of Kingston—Its Moral Condition—Its Religious Condition—Antagonisms of Race—Introduction of the Gospel—The Moravians—George Liele—Forms a Church—Its Covenant—Persecutions—Native Baptist Churches—Dr. Coke and the Wesleyan Mission—The Baptist Mission—The First Missionaries—Arrival of Mr. Brown.

MANY of our Christian friends assembled on the wharf to bid us adieu, when, on the afternoon of Thursday, the 3rd of November, we were somewhat hastily summoned to depart, by the arrival of the packet in the harbour. Our sojourn in Hayti had been a most pleasant one, and we left its shores with regret.

The voyage to Jamaica was short. On Saturday morning, when, a little before daylight, I went on deck, the mountains above Kingston began dimly to show their forms. Ahead of us gleamed the light which warns mariners off the low coral ridge, called the Palisades, and which, stretching for ten or eleven miles across an

arm of the sea, forms the noble harbour of Kingston and a breastwork to the ocean. As the sun rose, the paddles were again put in motion, and the vessel was cautiously steered, through the narrow channel left by islets of coral, into the harbour's mouth. The darkness and mist fled away as the sun, struggling to free itself from the bank of clouds which encumbered its rising, with imperceptible steps lighted up the mountain peaks, then the prominent portions of their sides, and at last penetrated the hollows and ravines. One by one houses peeped forth from the gloom. The smoke of the early fires of Kingston then became visible over the rocky barrier which lay between us. Clearings and coffee plantations, with an occasional tall chimney, told of the industry which provides a refreshing beverage, and its sweetener, for the denizens of less favoured lands.

Turning into the roadstead of Port Royal, for a short while we lay off the landing-place, to land despatches for the authorities of the fort and dockyard. Between us and the shore were two or three captured slave ships; one was a low, sharp-pointed vessel, of some 500 tons; another, a larger hulk, lay rotting at her moorings.

Passing close under the batteries of the Twelve Apostles—messengers of wrath, not of mercy—and by the entrance to the bay of Passage Fort, we were safely moored at the steam-pier by seven o'clock. Now arose the bustle of preparation to land, the chorus of friendly congratulations from the numerous friends who quickly came on board, the chatter of the negro porters, and the farewells of fellow-voyagers. As we

stepped on shore, I could not but remember that we were in Jamaica, once the land of the slave, now the home of the free. Black faces thickly crowded about us, all eager to "turn a penny," by helping us to care for our luggage. Nor had they failed to acquire the habit of ship porters in all civilized countries which it has been my fortune to visit—to exact more than their services are worth. By the kind assistance of our excellent friend, the Rev. S. Oughton, we soon got through the formalities of the Custom House, and comfortably established ourselves at the Date Tree Tavern, a large, commodious, and airy boarding-house, kept by a Creole lady.

As my friend and colleague, the Rev. J. T. Brown had not arrived, we were necessarily detained in Kingston for two or three weeks, which were fully occupied in investigating various matters, in preparing for our tour through the island, and in making ourselves familiar with facts that would be useful in our subsequent movements. It may be convenient to put together here the results of my observation and inquiries in Kingston, and the more so that my first impressions were not of a favourable kind.

At the very threshold we had an illustration of the contradictions which were likely to present themselves. Thus our landlady assured us that the servants were the greatest trouble of Jamaica life. One is rude, another disobedient, another sulky, or dirty, and so on. Wages are from 5*s.* to 6*s.* a week, the servant providing her own food. As soon as a few shillings are earned, the work

is thrown aside, until the money being spent, necessity again compels her to seek employment.

A friend whom we visited the same day, gave us his experience, as follows. Some of his servants had been with him more than twenty years. His coachman had served him for a long time before his recent visit to England. On the arrival of his old master in the island, quite ignorant whether he would be engaged again, he gave notice to the master he then served, and returned to his first employer. Here were examples of steady and honest labour.

A pastor in the town, on the same day, told me that most of his members were domestic servants. They earn about 3*s*. a week. He assured me that the people are very willing to work for those who pay them fair wages, and pay them regularly. But, unfortunately, a great many persons do neither the one thing nor the other: hence dissatisfaction and complaint. The people of mixed colour are the worst off. In times of slavery most of them had a slave or two on whose earnings they lived, and many of them were tenderly brought up by their English parent. Now they have no such means of support, and are often in great distress.

These differences of opinion as to the conduct of the enfranchised population met us at our first step, and we were soon compelled not only to look at *what* was said, but to inquire *who* says it, in order to arrive at an impartial judgment. Some contradictions melted away, being found to be true of one part of the island, but not of another. Although Jamaica is comparatively a small

island—160 miles long, and 50 miles broad only,—yet there is much ignorance of the condition of the various parishes among even well-informed men. But speaking generally, the tone of all classes was a disparaging one. There were very few disposed to take a hopeful view of the prospects of the country. The newspapers, with scarcely an exception, represent things in the darkest light; and if we may believe the statements unceasingly made, Jamaica is hopelessly ruined. In the usual course of things, the inhabitants of a country are proud of their native land, are disposed to hide her faults, and to apologize for her weaknesses. In Jamaica it is not so. Planters, officials, clergymen, merchants, shopkeepers, seem to take delight in exposing the worst features of its social life, in declaiming against the lower classes of the people, in representing every thing as gone to utter decay, and in depreciating the prospects before them. Nothing is right. The Government is extravagant and bad. The officers are venal. The legislature is governed by class interests, and addicted to "log rolling." The planters are poor, their estates worthless, and their cultivation thriftless and unskilful. The people are idle, vain, improvident, unchaste. Their religion is hypocrisy. Their social condition is one of African barbarism and dark superstition. In short, the island is in a state of irretrievable decay. Such is the picture which is held up to a stranger, and no little pains are taken to make him believe it to be a faithful representation.

There is much in the appearance of Kingston to corroborate this view. Its wharves are comparatively silent. The large stores and warehouses which follow

the line of the harbour, are but partially occupied, and betray but few signs of active business. Some are tenantless. Here, forty years ago, the commerce of Central and Southern America had its entrepôt.* It was the mart where the productions of the tropical countries of the West were exchanged for the manufactures of Europe. That trade has found other channels. The island of St. Thomas' has partially attracted it; while cargoes are now sent direct from the mills of Manchester to the markets they are intended to supply. It is only during the shipping season for sugar that activity prevails among the stores, which were formerly busy the year round with foreign and inter-colonial traffic. The merchant of Central America rather prefers to avail himself of the facilities which steam affords to visit the marts of Europe, than to stop half way at the warehouses of Kingston; and the rich produce of the mines of Mexico now goes direct to its destination in the coffers of the banks of England, France, and Spain.†

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* Of Cotton articles, of 497,675 lbs. imported into Jamaica in 1836, there were re-exported to South America, 273,138 lbs. *Merivale's Lectures on Colonization and the Colonies, p.* 223. The average annual re-export of cotton goods from 1853 to 1858, was only 3,644 lbs.

† The tonnage of vessels resorting to Jamaica with cargoes or in ballast, was in the year 1826, 139,000 tons; in 1857, 94,878 tons; a decrease of 44,122 tons. Of this quantity there resorted to Kingston in 1826, 69,698 tons; to the outports, 69,302 tons: in 1857, 60,028 tons; to the outports, 34,850 tons. But in 1857, the tonnage which cleared from Kingston and the outports respectively, was as follows:—

	With Cargoes.	In Ballast.	Total
Kingston.....	19,619 tons	16,341 tons	35,950 tons.
Outports.....	52,244 tons	3,909 tons	56,153 tons.
			92,103 tons.

And the produce of the island itself no longer seeks the port of Kingston, but finds its chief outlet at the ports near the place of its growth. But while Kingston has suffered in its foreign traffic, the retail trades have received a great extension. The shopkeeper now fills his store with goods that will meet the popular taste. For estate custom he has exchanged the limitless demand of a population every day acquiring new habits, and ambitious to possess European advantages. Drapers, tailors, shoemakers, and even booksellers, have multiplied since emancipation, and employments which minister to social and domestic comfort have greatly increased.

Kingston is well situated and laid out, and but for the absence of all sanitary care, might be one of the healthiest cities in the West Indies. It lies on an extensive plain; the streets are of good width, and run at right angles, with a gentle inclination to the sea. At a distance of six miles are the Liguanea mountains, affording admirable sites for a cool retreat in the hot season, while the sea and land breezes throughout the year moderate the tropical heat of the plain. Public buildings are few, and none have any architectural pretensions. Some of the churches and chapels are good structures, especially St. George's church, two of the Wesleyan chapels, and the Baptist chapel in East Queen St. The houses in

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These figures show that while Kingston absorbs of the imports nearly twice as much as all the outports together; the outports ship more than two and a half times the exports of Kingston. The large amount of tonnage leaving Kingston in ballast, proceeds to the outports for cargoes of sugar and coffee, which are brought down to the nearest port for shipment.

the principal streets are irregularly built; but in the upper part of the town are large, airy, and commodious. All are furnished with verandahs, which in the main thoroughfares cover the footway, and render it traversable in the hottest weather. But this footway varies in level before every house, so as to render walking very tiresome, and sometimes dangerous. Not a few of the houses are, however, in a dilapidated state, or unoccupied. Their decayed condition and rotten shingles, with bush growing from every corner and interstice, give an aspect of desolation to the town. The streets are neither paved nor swept. Garbage is allowed to accumulate in the thoroughfares, which, but for the scavenging propensities of John Crow, a species of vulture, would become the fertile source of disease and pestilence. The heavy rains, unprovided with proper channels, or drains, for the conveyance of the water to the sea, turn the streets inclined to the harbour into perfect rapids, rendering them at times impassable. The luckless passenger, if accidentally caught in one of the storms frequent in the rainy season without his buggy or one of the street cars at hand, must remain out for hours, unless prepared like the negroes to tuck up his trousers and ford the rushing waters. In the dry season these torrent beds are deep in sand, and you are stifled with dust. Some streets are quite impassable to carriages.*

* A traveller, whose visit to Kingston took place a few months before our arrival, thus describes his impressions:—"Kingston looks what it is, a place

The parade ground in the upper part of the city, near to which are the principal church, the court-house, the theatre, the barracks, and one or two chapels, is a waste of dirt heaps and muck, where a pleasant promenade might be formed at a small outlay. The chief resort of the inhabitants is the race-ground and the Up-Park Camp lying at the foot of the mountains, whither the regimental bands usually attract them twice a week. But the environs are as much neglected as the city. There is but little cultivation around Kingston, and the land is overrun with forests of acacia and candlewood; on the west are swamps breeding ague and deadly fever. The city is admirably supplied with water, so that cleanliness could easily be enforced. After dark the stranger is sorely at fault, no lamps guide his feet, and in the dense darkness of the nights when there is no moon, it is next to impossible to distinguish one house from another. It is a matter for thankfulness if he escape pitching into some reeking mass of filth, flung into the numerous holes which the last rains have made.

Much was told me of the low moral, and degraded condition of the people of Kingston. Ignorance, crime,

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where money has been made, but can be made no more. It is used up, and cast aside as useless. Nothing is replaced that time destroys. If a brick tumbles from a house to the street, it remains there; if a spout is loosened by the wind, it hangs by a thread till it falls; if furniture is accidentally broken, the idea of having it mended is not entertained. The marks of a helpless poverty are upon the faces of the people whom you meet, in their dress, in their very gait."—The Ordeal of Free Labour in the British West Indies, by W. G. Sewell, New York, 1861, p. 127.

and juvenile delinquencies, are said to abound. Hundreds of young people, of both sexes, are being nursed in the grossest idleness, a burden to themselves, and a curse to society.* Of a large portion of the adult population it is said, "Sunk into the lowest state of poverty, they have relapsed into a sort of semi-barbarism, in which the consolations of religion, and the blessings of morality, are either forgotten or unknown."† Certainly, I saw in Kingston a considerable number of persons who may thus be described; but not in larger numbers than is customary in any seaport town. Many idle people were about the streets; around the courts and public offices were numerous loungers; and in some quarters were many females, whose appearance indicated the illicit way in which they obtain a livelihood. Complaints are also made of the numbers of persons who, under the pretence of getting an honest living, sell in the streets fruit, sweetmeats, and vegetables. But all this is what every large city in the world presents, and cannot be regarded as a proof of any peculiar deterioration in the people of Kingston.

But the following paragraph exhibits, I fear, a too accurate picture of an evil which is common to the whole island, and to all the islands of the Antilles. "The crowds of bastard children that are brought to the churches of the Establishment for baptism, show how sadly the marriage ordinance is neglected, and the

* Report of Sanitary Committee of the Royal Society of Arts. p. 101.
† Ibid. p. 102.

multitudes that are still living in the sin of open and unblushing fornication. The prevalence of this sin we believe to be beyond all our surmises on this head."* It is to be regretted that the clergy of the Establishment do not discountenance this vice, by refusing the rite of baptism to the offspring of unlawful connections. All other religious bodies do this, excepting the Roman Catholic, whose views of sacramental grace necessarily lead to the observance of the rite under all circumstances. I was informed that one reason for the continuance of this practice by the parochial clergy was this: that the Romanists would baptize all such children, and, therefore, soon claim a large proportion of the population as the adherents of Rome. The clergy, however, exercise some check by going to the houses of the parents, faithfully warning them of their sin, and carefully instructing the sponsors in their duty. But the indiscriminate administration of the rite among so superstitious a people as the negro still is when uneducated, is calculated to render unlawful unions harmless in their estimation. Outside the nonconformist communities, the neglect of marriage is almost universal. One clergyman informed me that of seventeen infants brought to his church for baptism, fifteen, at least, would be of illegitimate origin. Nor could I find that the case was ameliorated by any parties living faithfully as married persons, though not legally united. This must be admitted to be the great moral

* Ibid, p. 102.

and social defect of the Jamaica people, and it demands the most earnest attention from all interested in their well-being. Not but that much has been done since emancipation. Many thousands have taken the vows of conjugal life, and unions without them are, generally, thought disreputable.

It cannot, I think, accurately be said that the people have "relapsed into a sort of semi-barbarism." If the statements of numerous witnesses are to be believed, antecedent to emancipation and the introduction of missionary influences among the people, the moral condition of Kingston must have been bad in the extreme. Unfavourable as the above testimony is to the present character of the inhabitants, it cannot be compared with the darkness of the picture portrayed by writers of those times. Vice may be rife enough now; but it does not exhibit the same unblushing effrontery; nor do we meet with the cruelty, the recklessness of life, the hatred of every moral and religious principle, which characterized the island when slavery existed.

With regard to the religious condition of the city, the report already quoted gives an equally unfavourable view. The population is estimated as somewhat over thirty thousand in number.* Of these not more than six or seven thousand are members of the Churches of all denominations. Whether by this is meant communicants only, or whether it includes all the church-

* In 1844, it was 32,943. It is doubtful whether the number has increased.

going population, is not clear—probably the latter.* Besides two Roman Catholic chapels, there are eleven places of worship.† Allotting an average of 400 to each, it would give 5200 persons as regular attendants. This statement does not include either the chapels or congregations of the Native Baptists, who, whatever their defects, exercise no inconsiderable religious influence over large numbers of the people, and that, on the whole, on the side of piety. Three of these places are known to me, and I believe there are two others which I did not see. One of them, the Church founded by George Liele, in 1783, claims to have over a thousand members. Another, formed from the secession from East Queen St., has 640 members; and the other three have about 1700. Many of these people probably do not reside in the town; but in the vicinity of Kingston. At the lowest computation, including all classes of religionists, the attendants at the places of worship probably number eight or nine thousand. My own observation, however, corroborates what was stated to me again and again, that the Churches of all denominations have been of late years less attended than formerly. There appears to be going on a gradual drifting away of the black population from the European clergy and ministers, to the ministry of men of their own

*The Report of the Society of Arts says first, "six or seven thousand members;" and then immediately after adds, that there are not more "than six or seven thousand church-going people." p. 102.

† Church of England, 3 churches; Kirk of Scotland, 1; United Presbyterian, 1; Wesleyan, 2; Baptist, 2; Independent, 1; Wesleyan Association, 1; Roman Catholic, 2.

colour; and as black men become educated and intelligent teachers, this tendency is likely to increase. For although the black people generally affirm that they prefer the European minister, it is difficult to retain them under an European ministry where the white and coloured people congregate, and where there is the incessant suspicion active that they are deemed an inferior caste by their neighbours of lighter skin. Most of the European ministers, if not all, are, I am sure, solicitous for the highest interests of the black population, and lay themselves out in various ways for their improvement. Yet it is at the same time true that the intercourse of the white with the black is often marked by hauteur, by peremptoriness, by indifference, and not seldom by contempt. Distrust of the fairness and impartiality of the white is almost universally prevalent; which, being united with the practical and growing independence of the people, settles into an antagonism of interests, and a severance in the daily affairs of life as far as it can be carried without ruinous mutual injury. This strife of colour is not to be justified, it is not, perhaps, consciously recognised by any considerable number of persons; but yet it exists, and will continue to exist until the intelligence and wealth of the black, shall place him more on an equality with the white.

It must not be overlooked that a very large proportion of the present population was born and bred in slavery; and that there is, therefore, a keen remembrance of the events of those days of sorrow. Black men, in

Kingston, do not forget that a minister of one of the leading denominations, now holding an important position in the city, preached, at the time of the insurrection, a vigorous sermon in defence of the Divine institution of slavery; a sermon which, since emancipation, no little pains have been taken to suppress. Black men do not forget that when the period of emancipation for domestic slaves approached, great efforts were made to register them as agricultural slaves, in order to retain them two years more in bondage. Kingston, however, possessed in the times of slavery, a considerable number of free blacks, who were among the most intelligent of their class. It was natural that they should be so, living in the capital, where the largest amount of activity and intelligence in the island would be found. They do not forget that all political privileges were denied them; that even when the brown people became politically privileged, they found no sympathy among those whose colour and relationship might be supposed to create a close bond of amity and assistance; and that even now the right of voting is confined almost entirely to the white and brown classes, so that a political supremacy exists which may be deemed adverse to the interests of the pure black. On the other hand, habits of command and superiority acquired in those days of despotic and irresponsible power, cannot be at once eradicated. Years must pass before the relations of the parties can be settled on foundations alike felicitous and mutually

beneficial. The process is going on; but it can be no cause for surprise if, meanwhile, there be a good deal of chafing and discomfort.

The account of the introduction of the gospel among the slaves of Jamaica is interesting. The Moravians commenced their mission in 1754. Their labours were confined to a few estates and plantations in the parish of St. Elizabeth. They were for years chiefly dependent for subsistence on the cultivation of land, and in this way came to employ, and even to possess slaves. Success attended their efforts at first; but it was soon painfully evident that slavery was a deadly obstacle to the progress of the gospel. Slaves had no time to hear the Word. At the close of the day they were too tired to visit the missionary, and were driven to work too early in the morning to have any opportunity. The old and infirm could be reached; but too often their minds were rendered obtuse by hardship, while all lived in a state of degrading immorality. Polygamy was frequent; marriage was illegal. The opposition of planters and overseers became increasingly vigorous as the fruit of the missionaries' labour appeared. But, although encouraged to persevere by a few genuine proofs of conversion to God, the missionaries, till the beginning of the present century, did not make any considerable advance. The entire severance of the mission, in 1823, from all connection with slavery, was the dawn of a brighter day. It rapidly extended to three other parishes, and now numbers about ten thousand ad-

herents, of all ages. Of these, upwards of four thousand are communicants.*

The Word of God was first preached in Kingston by George Liele, or Lisle,† a black man, and a native of Virginia. After his conversion, the white members of the church to which he belonged in America, gave him a call to preach before the congregation, and exhibiting "ministerial gifts," he was licensed as a probationer, with the especial duty of labouring among people of colour. He obtained his freedom through the esteem of his master for his character, who was a deacon of the Church that called him to the ministry. His master was a royalist, and on the evacuation of Savanna by the British troops, at the close of the Revolutionary War, George Liele was obliged to leave. He came to Jamaica with a Colonel Kirkland, to whom he had become indentured. He began to preach, as he had done in America, towards the close of 1783, in a small private house, and formed a Church consisting of four negroes, who, like himself, were refugees from the United States. The preaching attracted many of the poor people; but at first they were much persecuted. On a petition to the House of Assembly, their meetings were allowed, and for a time they worshipped God

* Retrospect of the Hist. of the Mission, pp. 4—12. "Up to 1804, only 938 negroes had been admitted to holy baptism."

† In "The Covenant" presently referred to, his name is spelt *Liele*; as also in a letter from himself, in Rippon's Register, vol. i., p. 337. He seems also to have borne in America the name of George Sharp; his name varying probably with his master.

without further molestation. By 1791, this zealous servant of Christ had baptized four hundred persons; and the Church at the end of that year numbered three hundred and fifty members. As his labours were not confined to the city of Kingston, there were many in the country who joined him. Nor was he unmindful of the necessity of order. "I have," says he, "deacons and elders a few; and teachers of small congregations in the town and country, where convenience suits them to come together; and I am pastor. I preach twice on the Lord's-day, and twice in the week; and have not been absent six Sabbath days since I formed the Church in this country. I receive nothing for my services. I preach, baptize, administer the Lord's Supper, and travel from one place to another to publish the gospel and to settle church affairs, all freely. I have one of the chosen men, whom I baptized, a deacon of the church, and a native of this country, who keeps the regulation of church matters; and I have promoted a free school for the instruction of children, both free and slaves, and he is the schoolmaster."*

Mr. Liele's occupation was that of a farmer; but he also added to his means of subsistence the carriage of goods, for which purpose he kept a team of horses. He pleasantly adds: "I have a few books, some good old authors and sermons, and one large Bible that was given me by a gentleman. A good many of our members can read, and are all desirous to learn; they will be very

* Rippon's Register, vol. i., p. 335.

thankful for a few books to read on Sundays and other days." The chief part of his congregation were slaves, and the free people of colour were poor. Nevertheless, they had purchased a piece of ground on the east side of Kingston, and were busy erecting a brick chapel. In this work they were assisted by some of the members of the House of Assembly.

The better to make known their sentiments, and to obtain the approval of good men, the Church, with its pastor, published a small tract, which they entitled, "The Covenant of the Anabaptist Church. Began in America, December 1777; in Jamaica, December 1783." It was printed in 1796, but bears date December 25th, 1795, at which time there were twenty-four elders in the Church, twelve men and twelve women, following whose names it stands written, "We bind ourselves under an affirmation, to do duty to our King, Country, and Laws, and to see that the affixed rules are observed." They were evidently ignorant that the term "Anabaptist" is one of reproach, for they say, "We are of the Anabaptist persuasion because we believe it agreeable to the Scriptures." They then proceed to explain that they keep the Lord's day in public worship, observe the ordinances of the Lord's Supper and Baptism, the latter in a river, or where there is much water; also the ordinance of washing one another's feet, supporting the whole with quotations from Scripture at length. The next article is curious. "We hold to receive and admit young children into the Church according to the word of God," quoting Luke ii. 27, 28. This does not

appear to have been by baptism, but by a special service. It is probably the origin of a practice, which I was informed is not at all unfrequent at the present time among the native baptists, of becoming sponsors to the children of friends who are christened by the clergy of the Church of England. Then follows the expression of their belief in the duty of praying over and anointing the sick, of admonishing one another, of appointing judges to settle matters among themselves, and of not shedding human blood. They affirm that they are forbidden to go to law with one another, to swear, to eat the blood of any creature, to wear costly raiment, to commit fornication. Slaves cannot be permitted to join the Church without receiving from their owners a certificate of their good behaviour. If they misbehave to their owners, they are to be dealt with. Every offence must be brought before the Church for censure, and all persons are to be withdrawn from who commit sin. Parties excluded from fellowship, are to be refused interment in the burial ground belonging to the church. The covenant closes by affirming that the members hold all that is written in Holy Scripture, as well as the things written in this covenant, "to live to them as nigh as we possibly can, agreeable to the word of God."

The simplicity and scriptural form of this confession of faith is very interesting, though it is obvious that there is a prominence given to outward observances very characteristic of the negro mind. The great principles of evangelical obedience and morality are fully insisted on, and although we learn from other sources

that many curious, if not foolish practices crept in among the members, we must rejoice that, neglected as the religious and moral condition of the slave population was, these elements of righteousness and piety were introduced. The black man in his ignorance and feebleness groped after a higher life amid the manifold degradations of the condition imposed upon him. This covenant was read once a month at the administration of the Lord's Supper, and the Church was kept in memory of its obligations. "The chiefest part of our society" wrote Mr. Liele, in 1792, "are poor illiterate slaves; some living on sugar estates, some on mountains, penns, and other settlements, that have no learning; no, not to know so much as a letter in the book; but the reading this covenant once a month, when all are met together from the different parts of the island, keeps them in mind of the commandments of God."* He adds, that by showing this document, he also obtained the sanction of the authorities and masters of the slaves to his proceedings.

In 1793, the chapel was completed; but a considerable debt remained upon it. Upwards of five hundred persons had by this time been baptized. A piece of ground had been purchased at Spanish Town, and the protection of a planter, who was also a magistrate, promised them, in case of any disturbance or interruption. But this extension of the Church gave umbrage to many. A sermon Mr. Liele preached on Rom. x. 1

* Rippon's Register vol. i., p. 343.

was charged with sedition. It was alleged that he sought to stir up the slaves to insurrection. He was arrested and imprisoned, loaded with irons, put into the stocks, and secluded from all visitors, even his wife and children. At the trial he was acquitted. Then his chapel debt brought him into difficulties, and again he was lodged in gaol. He refused to take the benefit of the Act, and remained in prison till he had fully paid all that was owing. As with Bunyan, his jailor's confidence in his integrity often allowed him to visit the sick of his people and his family by night; he always returned in safety and in time. Thus amid trials, contumely, oppression, and insult, he contrived faithfully to labour, and was held in good repute till his death.

This Church must have possessed no little vitality; through all the subsequent difficulties of the island, it has maintained itself. It has enjoyed a constant succession of pastors; at the present time the pastor is Mr. W. Killick, who through blindness and old age is unable to act so efficiently as in years past. He was baptized by Mr. Liele in 1801, and set apart for the ministry in 1811. In 1828 he became minister of the Church. At that time its numbers had greatly declined; it consisted of no more than thirty-nine members. So largely, however, have his labours prospered, that some 3700 persons were reported in 1841 as members in town and country, and a flourishing Sunday school of 200 children existed. The Kingston members at the date of my visit were said to number a thousand.

From this Church sprang one or two others, in Kingston. That in Spanish Town, already mentioned, appears to have been soon broken up. A branch Church was formed in Morant Bay, which at one time consisted of 350 members; but is now in a declining state. The chapel cost £300. Another branch Church was formed in the parish of St. David's, at Bethany, of 179 members. The chapel here was the gift of one of the leaders. From the encouragement afforded to these congregations by various gentlemen, and by the grants made to them from the public treasury, they would appear to have been held in esteem. Thus, in 1841, the House of Assembly voted £200 towards the repairs and the addition of galleries to the chapel of Mr. Killick. He also obtained a grant of £106 from the Corporation of Kingston, and a liberal donation from the Mayor. Besides these more orderly communities, there were many other persons antecedent to the entrance of the missionaries into the island, who under the designation of Native, or Independent Baptists, combined the most fanatical practices with the doctrines of Scripture, and who lived on the superstitious fears of the people.* Few of them now remain; they have either been absorbed by the various missionary bodies, or have been beneficially influenced by the increase of intelligence and of evangelical labourers around them.

*, Mr. Phillippo, in his "Jamaica, its Past and Present State," gives a very vivid picture of this class of religionists among the Negroes, pp. 270—274.

Next to the Moravians, the Wesleyan body took up the strife with the wickedness and irreligion of Jamaica. Dr. Coke arrived in Kingston on the 19th January, 1789, and immediately hired a large concert room for preaching. In the presence of much opposition he commenced his Christian exertions; many came to hear him. The black evangelists might proceed without much observation; their movements could be controlled; besides, they did not venture or dare to assail the conduct of their white masters and oppressors. Dr. Coke carried with him the free speech of his country, and boldly animadverted on the absence of religious observances; the entire disuse and desecration of the Sabbath; the open concubinage of clergy, planters, and slaves; and the heathenism which continually increased, without check, by the importation of fresh slaves from the wilds of Africa. His ministry was soon interfered with. On one occasion, a body of white gentlemen assaulted him during public worship, and his life was only saved by the courage of a white woman, who threw herself before the preacher, and threatened to thrust her scissors into the heart of the first man that touched him. But opposition was nothing to Dr. Coke; it could not deter him from his duty. He continued his exertions, and before the close of the following year a society had been formed, a site obtained, and a chapel built on an open space on one side of the Parade.

A Mr. Hammett became the minister; but the publicity the chapel gave to the good work, only

drew forth greater hostility, and the congregation was exposed to constant violence and outrage, the magistrates "caring for none of these things." The evening services were the most obnoxious, as then the slaves could attend. For a time, they were compelled to discontinue them; but God's blessing was with his servants; the "work of their hands" prospered, and the flourishing Wesleyan mission found an abiding place in the land.*

The information which from time to time reached England of the progress of the native Baptist Churches, excited great interest in the minds of some of the leading ministers of the denomination. Not only was Dr. Rippon in communication with Mr. Liele, but Dr. Ryland had also opened a correspondence with a Mr. Swigle, of Kingston, at first a member of Mr. Liele's Church, and then the minister of a separate congregation in the same city. The violent opposition exhibited by the authorities and others in Kingston, induced Dr. Ryland to seek an interview with Mr. Wilberforce, in the hope that some steps might be taken in Parliament for its repression. Mr. Wilberforce thought that white, might probably obtain more respect than black, ministers; but he was hopeless of any good being done in Parliament, owing to the strength of the West Indian interest. He would try privately to mitigate their hostility; "but I fear," he said, "that the prejudices of the resident colonists, and their irre-

* Duncan's Narrative of the Wesleyan Mission in Jamaica, pp. 7—20.

ligious habits, are such as to render all attempts to soften them unavailing."* In his usual characteristic manner, Dr. Ryland thus annotated on the reply of this eminent advocate of the negro:—"I cannot but think it is of great importance for us to send out some one speedily; I have waited with great anxiety several years for some one to send." This was in 1807.

It was not until the close of 1813, that Dr. Ryland's benevolent wish was fulfilled. In answer to the application of Moses Baker, the Rev. Jno. Rowe offered his services, and was ordained to this work on the 8th December. Moses Baker was one of the early members of the Church in Kingston. He was a free black, and was invited by a planter, who had purchased some of the brethren, to settle on his estates, in the parish of St. James, to instruct his slaves. Of Moses Baker, I shall speak further on. It was among his converts that Mr. Rowe settled, and from amongst them sprang the flourishing churches which now exist in the parishes of St. James' and Trelawny. Mr. Rowe was followed by Mr. Lee Compere, who after a brief residence at Old Harbour, removed to Kingston, on the pressing invitation of the native Baptists, who are said to have amounted to several thousands in or near the city.† He regarded many of the people as pious persons; but that for want of suitable teachers various extravagances and mistakes had crept in amongst them. They were

* Cox's History of Baptist Mission, ii., p. 20.
† Periodical Accounts, vol. vi., p. 73.

split into parties, and were the prey of several ignorant and designing men. Mr. Compere quickly obtained from the mayor a licence to preach. It is curious now to observe the extreme caution used by the first missionaries to evade notice, and to disarm suspicion. Non-interference with political concerns was rigidly observed. The slaves were earnestly instructed to the conscientious discharge of their duties to their owners; and the first secretary of the Missionary Society (venerabile nomen!) was sedulous in recommending to the missionaries' attention, the instructions given by the apostles to those who were in the condition of slaves.*

Mr. Compere acted wisely, in selecting with great deal of pains, from the plentiful materials that offered, only a small body of people whom he judged to be possessed of genuine piety. These he formed into a Church. On Mr. Coultart's arrival at Kingston, in

* Eph. vi. 5—8, Col. iii. 22—25, 1 Peter ii. 18—25. The instructions to Mr. Rowe on this head, were as follow:—"You are going amongst a people in a state of slavery, and require to beware lest your feelings for them should lead you to say or do anything inconsistent with Christian duty. Most of the servants whom the Apostle Paul addressed in his epistles to the churches were slaves, and he exhorts them to be obedient to their own masters in singleness of heart, fearing God; and this, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. He furnished them with principles that would not only reconcile them to their condition, but render them regardless of their privations and hardships, though he allowed them to accept of freedom when it was offered them. 'Art thou called being a slave, care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather.' These exhortations, dear brother, must be your guide, and while you act up to them, no man can justly be offended with you." Periodical Accounts, vol. v., p. 272. These "feelings" were repressed till they burst forth irrepressibly in the fiery eloquence of William Knibb.

May, 1817, he relinquished its charge, and sailed to America. The new missionary, with the same caution, entered on his work. He divided the Church, which then numbered more than 500 members, into twenty-four classes, under as many leaders, and soon reported large accessions by baptism. I cannot withhold the following picture of the people, as depicted by Mrs. Coultart. It will afford materials for comparison with the present. "The inhabitants of Jamaica* consist chiefly of black people, rude and superstitious to a degree. At the death of one of them, the relatives and friends meet together at the house of the deceased, and feast, and sing, and riot, during the night. They prepare and keep by them their funeral dress, which is the most gaudy and costly their circumstances will permit them to obtain. They are generally great thieves, unless they are partakers of the holy religion of Jesus Christ. The wild religious part of them fast on certain days, dream dreams, and see visions; nor are those who are really partakers of divine grace totally free from these inconsistencies. There are a number of brown people also, who are nearly of the same stamp; but they consider themselves very superior to the black, and it is with difficulty they degrade themselves by speaking to them. The white people are generally such as make money their idol; many of them live in an awfully degenerate state."* The ministry of Mr. Coultart was largely blessed; in five years the Church

* Periodical Accounts, vol. vi., p. 417.

increased to a thousand members. In 1822 a second congregation was formed in Hanover Street, under the ministry of the Rev. J. Tinson. This is now under the pastoral care of a native minister, the Rev. E. Palmer, who received his education at Calabar. Both Churches have borne vicissitudes; but have exercised no unimportant influence on the religious condition of the city of Kingston.

On the 24th Nov., I had the pleasure of welcoming my dear friend and colleague, the Rev. J. T. Brown. His voyage had been a very stormy and rather perilous one. His arrival enabled us at once to start on our tour through the island, for which I had made the necessary arrangements. As there are no public conveyances in Jamaica, and the means of locomotion in the interior are difficult to obtain, I purchased a carriage and pair of horses, finding that course by far the cheapest. We were thus able to move about at our convenience, and to visit places which otherwise would have been beyond our reach.

CHAPTER II.

Spanish Town—The Congregation—Church of England—The Public Buildings—The Legislature—Character of Legislation—Prejudices of Colour—The Brown Population—Passage Fort—Old Harbour Bay—A Native Baptist Church—Condition of the People—The Caymanas—The Labourers—Orange Grove—Sligoville—The First Township.

Our first stage was to Spanish Town, the political capital of the island, and the head quarters of the Legislature and Government. It is reached both by railway and road. The railway is the only one existing in Jamaica, and in its construction the zeal of the capitalists of the colony seems to have exhausted itself. For although an Act stands on the Statute Book enabling the proprietors to carry it some miles further, to Old Harbour, several years have elapsed without any attempt at its completion. The stations have a desolate look, and are much in need of repair. Three trains a day carry all the passengers. It is a single line, and runs for the most part through swamps, and a forest of acacia trees, the firewood of Kingston. Near Spanish Town are a few cultivated spots, and a penn or two; and over these clearings are obtained glimpses of the mountain ranges beyond.

The turnpike road, a good macadamized highway,

in excellent repair, led us by gardens fenced with cactus, and under the shade of some magnificent cotton trees; it skirted plantations of sugar cane, and passed numerous neat dwellings of the peasantry. After the comparative bustle of Kingston, the capital appeared exceedingly dull as we drove through its streets; and indeed, excepting that portion of the year in which the Legislature is in session, it can scarcely be said to exhibit any signs of life. Only the residence of the Governor and the business of the Courts of Law, preserve it from utter stagnation.

The following day being Sunday, Mr. Brown and myself had the pleasure of preaching to large congregations in Mr. Phillippo's chapel. They were the largest assemblies of the native population we had yet seen; not half-a-dozen white people were among them. With but very few exceptions, the people were neatly dressed; all were clean. The general absence of gay colours and flaunting attire, of which we had heard so much, as characteristic of the negro taste, greatly surprised us. The men were clothed like thriving artisans in England, and the women, for the most part, in cotton of various simple patterns, and hats. With not a little interest did we speak with the senior deacon, an old man ninety years of age, but hale, and in possession of every faculty. Long has he borne an irreproachable Christian character. He delighted us with tales of the olden time, when in company with a few like-minded with himself, the nights were spent in travelling from one estate to another, to collect the

slaves for prayer and instruction. Many were their hair-breadth escapes from the wrath of hostile planters, and many the souls saved through their heroic devotedness.

The depressing effect of the divisions which took place in Mr. Phillippo's congregation some years ago, is now nearly overcome. The congregation is not indeed so large, but it has, to a considerable extent, rallied; and the labours of its estimable minister and pastor are being blessed. The gospel was introduced into Spanish Town by a member of George Leile's Church; but Mr. Godden was the first Baptist missionary who began regular preaching. Ill health compelled Mr. Godden to leave the island in 1823; he was followed by the Rev. J. M. Phillippo, who arrived on the 19th Dec., of the same year, and immediately became the pastor of the Church. For a time the island authorities forbade his preaching, until he could show the seal of the Lord Mayor of London to his testimonials. It was a time when local publicists thus wrote of the noble band of philanthropists engaged in seeking the abolition of slavery:—"1823; during this year the West Indies were again agitated by the intermeddling of the fanatics in Great Britain with our internal concerns." In this and the following year, insurrections betrayed the instability of the social fabric built on the bondage of the slave. Yet none can doubt that the Christian labours of the missionaries, both checked the outbreaks of passionate and outraged humanity, and

prepared the enslaved negro for the liberty he now enjoys.

The Baptist chapel is a large, handsome, and commodious structure of red brick, calculated to hold 1200 people; it is in tolerable repair, but needs painting. The mission house by its side, embosomed in orange trees, and its garden bright with the gorgeous flowers of the tropics, is rather low, and not so airy as the climate requires. The school-rooms near the dwelling house are large and very commodious. One side only is at present in use, as funds are not available for the support of a larger school than exists, consisting of 50 boys, and 30 girls. Two or three visits to this school gave us a very gratifying impression of the skill of the master, a native of the island, and the capacity of the children for the attainment of knowledge. Besides the congregation of Mr. Phillippo, there exists in the city a flourishing community of Wesleyans. The congregation formed by Mr. Dowson on his separation from Mr. Phillippo, worships in a neat brick building, and numbers some six or seven hundred persons.

The parish church of Spanish Town is the cathedral of the Bishop of Jamaica. He lives in England, having retired invalided; but his powers and duties are delegated to the Bishop of Kingston, as his vicar and suffragan. The salary of the Bishop of Jamaica, £3000 a year, is paid by the British Government, and has been enjoyed for many years without question, the island liberals probably thinking that his failure

to discharge in person his duties, is the business of those who pay him. His lordship of Kingston being paid from the island treasury, is usually resident. The Liberation Society might find ample employment in calling the attention of the Imperial Parliament to some of these colonial subsidies. Why, for instance, should the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain support in complete idleness in England the Bishop of Jamaica? or why should the British Government pay to each of the archdeacons £600 a year, besides their local emoluments as rectors of St. Andrew's and St. James'? And this in addition to the very costly ecclesiastical establishment the Legislature of the island has inflicted on its struggling industry. Setting aside the injustice of taxing the people for the support of the Church of England, four-fifths of the population, at least, being dissenters from it, the ecclesiastical department of the Government has largely aided in loading the island with debt, and costs, even now, after great reductions, £25,000 a year, nearly a seventh part of the entire expenditure. Besides which, grants are yearly made for new churches, rectories, glebes, and other contingencies.*

We paid an early visit to the Government buildings. They form a square in the centre of the town. The Queen's House, the residence of the Governor, is a good

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* Island and Ecclesiastical expenditure of the following years:—

Year.	Total Island Expenditure. £	s.	d.	Ecclesiastical Expenditure. £	s.	d.
1854	224,890	6	11	37,691	18	4
1855	244,316	13	8	36,777	7	10
1856	215,377	8	0	29,067	11	7
1857	256,417	15	11	27,028	9	10
1858	191,320	13	8	25,063	9	2

building, with a Doric portico, a marble hall, adorned with portraits of George III. and his queen, for the annual assemblage of the Legislature, to receive the governor's speech, with various offices and convenient rooms for the family of the Queen's representative. On one side of the square is a clever marble statue of Rodney, under a small pavilion, whose victory over the fleet of Count de Grasse, on its way to attempt the subjugation of Jamaica, in 1782, the planters have seen fit to commemorate. Public offices occupy another side of the square; and opposite to the Queen's House is the Hall of the Assembly. It is a handsome and well-furnished room, of size sufficient to accommodate the forty-four members who constitute the representatives of the people, and a small audience in the open space at one end. The Legislative Council, which stands in the relation of the House of Lords to the Assembly, and each of whose members is entitled to the prefix "honourable" before his name, assembles in a far plainer room in another part of the buildings. A statue of Lord Metcalfe, of heroic size, stands at the bottom of the staircase of the Court House, awaiting the liberality of his admirers to place it on an intended pedestal in the square.*

* Lord Metcalfe's administration, by its profuse, even prodigal expenditure, seems to have been directed, in some measure, to reconcile the planters to the Act of Emancipation. This he accomplished at the risk of being charged with injustice to the Baptists, whom, after only three weeks' residence in the island, he hastily condemned. At all events, his ill-advised judgment succeeded in propitiating the favour of their bitterest foes. The planters had no honours to bestow on the far better administrations of Lord Sligo and Sir Lionel Smith.

The legislation of the Assembly is spoken of very contemptuously by men of all classes. It is characterized by selfishness and weakness. Before the guardianship of the purse was transferred to an executive council, or cabinet, chosen by the Governor as his advisers, and which arrangement is but just come into operation, the grossest acts of jobbery were committed. Only a year or two ago, a parish complained that a sum voted for the repair of the roads had never been expended; in fact, it had been embezzled by the representative of the parish. A member of the Assembly had the hardihood to say, that it did not become the members of that house to punish the delinquent, for all were guilty of the same sort of thing! No one ventured to reply, or to contradict the dishonouring charge of the orator. "Log-rolling," as the Americans designate the venal conduct of their Congress men, was in daily practice. This, however, is now checked; the power of proposing grants of money is taken away from members, and no grant can be moved for but by a responsible member of the Executive Committee, of which the Governor is the head.

On the day that I happened to spend a few minutes in the House of Assembly, the members were discussing a bill to enable the House to examine any person on oath, a bill which, in the judgment of many, would be used for the most oppressive purposes. One gentleman, a lawyer, said the members were mere "machines, the slaves of the gentlemen over the way"—viz., of the Legislative and Executive Councils. The language of

the House is often not of the choicest kind, nor do the debates exhibit much gravity. The proceedings of the Legislative Council, which I also visited, were very quiet. The quantity of legislation accomplished for this small island is perfectly astonishing. The volume containing the laws of only one session numbers six or seven hundred pages. The mere record of the votes of the Assembly for one session, which lasted from the 9th November, 1858, to the 11th January, 1859, makes a folio volume of two hundred and eighty-six pages; and the appendix to it of tables, papers, and examinations, contains two hundred and forty more. The journal of the Legislative Council is far more modest. Its votes for the same session occupy only seventy-three pages. Of recent enactments, the most beneficial is the Encumbered Estates Act, applying to Jamaica the principle and mode of operation of the Act of that title, which has proved of such great advantage to Ireland. As the circumstances of a large number of estates in Jamaica are similar, we may hope that a like useful result will ensue.

The House of Assembly cannot be said to represent the people of Jamaica. For although it contains a fair proportion of coloured men, they are elected chiefly by the planting and merchant interests. By the election law of 1858, a voter must possess a freehold of the clear annual value of £6; or pay a rent of £20 a-year; or be in receipt of a salary of £50 a-year; or pay taxes to the amount of 20*s.*; or have in a bank, for twelve months previous, £100. As there are from 50,000 to

60,000 freeholders in the island, this would give a widely extended suffrage; but the number of actual voters does not exceed 2500. Of these 700 only vote as freeholders; 1300 are taxpayers, and 400 exercise the right as receiving salaries of the required amount. It is therefore obvious that the people, the vast mass of small occupiers of land, are not represented. The voters are planters, attornies, agents, clerks, and shopkeepers. The tax imposed on the annual registration of a vote is a great bar to the formation of a larger constituency. The negro does not feel so interested in the Government as to pay a tax of 10*s*. a-year to have his name inserted in the register, in order that he may vote once in three or four years for a representative. The effect is to confine the suffrage to parties having class interests, or to those to whom an official position, or salaried place, is an object of desire. Any election may be gained by the candidate paying the registration fees of a sufficient number of voters to give him a majority. And this, I am informed, has actually been done.

It remains to be seen whether, under the new system, the Legislature will pursue a wiser course than in former years. The House of Assembly at the time of emancipation possessed the fullest powers to remedy any defect in that great measure. But it abused its powers. Instead of enacting laws calculated to elevate and benefit the people, it pursued the contrary course. By an Ejectment Act, it gave to the planters the right to turn out the enfranchised peasantry, without regard to

sex or age, at a week's notice, from the homes in which they had been born and bred; to root up their provision grounds, and to cut down the fruit trees which gave them both shelter and food; in order that, through dread of the consequences of refusal, the negroes might be driven to work on the planters' own terms. By a police law, the ejected peasant might be arrested for trespass, if he remained an hour on the estate, after due notice to quit. Compelled to seek a freehold, to secure both a livelihood and independence, the poor buyer had to pay a heavy stamp duty on the transfer and registration of the land he purchased. In slavery times, when corn food had to be provided by the owner of the slave, the import duty was threepence per barrel; for the free man it was raised to three shillings. On rice, salt fish, and pork, the duty was increased two or three hundred per cent. The Legislators, in their spiteful and blind folly, did not see that the enhancement in the price of the necessaries of life, rendered inevitable by heavy duties, only made the negro the more urgent to obtain land on which more cheaply to live. Driven from his cabin on the estate, by the harsh or unjust treatment of his former master, the free labourer had to build a cottage for himself. Immediately the customs on shingles for the roof to shelter his family from the seasons, were more than doubled; while the duty on the staves and hoops for sugar hogsheads, the planters' property, was greatly reduced. And when the houses were built, they were assessed at a rate which, in some parishes, bore so heavily on the

occupants, as to lead to the abandonment of their dwellings for shanties of mud and boughs.

To check the cultivation of sugar and coffee by the new freeholders, lest their labour should be withdrawn from the estates and properties of their former masters, an excise duty of one penny a pound on sugar, and two-pence on coffee, was imposed. The exported article was free. As a large capital is required for the cultivation of the staples for exportation, the enactment practically confined the foreign trade to the planters, and discouraged the small cultivators from growing the staples, even for home consumption. To sell coffee and sugar by retail, a costly license was required, which could be granted by a majority of the justices and vestry of the parish. But inasmuch as these local boards consisted of planters and their dependants, the law left the small cultivator or retail dealer entirely at their mercy. Even were the licence obtained, it was good only for the parish where it was granted. As if emphatically to mark the class on whom this check was intended to operate, quantities of two hundred pounds of sugar, and fifty pounds of coffee, might be sold without any license at all. The penalties for neglect and evasion, were heavy fines and imprisonment.

More injurious still, in a moral aspect, was an Act to regulate marriage. By this Act the fees of the clergy of the establishment were commuted for an annual payment from the colonial treasury. But all dissenters were to be compelled to charge fees, to be paid into the

island chest, to meet the amount of commutation. For every omission to charge this fee, a nonconformist minister was liable to twelve months' imprisonment. There can be no doubt that this Act was intended to destroy the influence of the missionaries, and to induce the people to place themselves under episcopal instruction. But the injustice did not stop here. All past marriages performed by the dissenters were to be recorded within three months, to render them valid, for which a fee of four shillings and twopence each was to be paid. As thousands of marriages had been solemnized since emancipation (this was in 1840) for which no fee had been taken by the dissenting ministers, it was equivalent to a fine of hundreds of pounds.*

These oppressive enactments were for the most part either disallowed, or greatly modified by the British Government; but they were none the less indicative of the spirit which actuated the Jamaica Legislature. In consequence of the refusal of the Colonial Office to sanction such iniquitous and unjust laws, the most passionate and vituperative warfare was maintained for years with the Queen's representative; till at length the House of Assembly refused all legislation, and stopped the supplies. Time after time its immigration bills were rejected by the Crown, both in the interest of the immigrants and native labourers, because of the oppressive enactments they contained. Meanwhile the

* Thus Mr. Burchell would have had to pay over £400 currency for the marriages he had performed.—*Memoir of Thomas Burchell, p.* 360.

most extravagant expenditure was indulged in. At the commencement of freedom, under Sir Lionel Smith's administration, the island expenditure was £158,988; in 1844, it had risen to £391,798. In 1841, the enormous sum of £65,919 18s. was expended on the Church of England from the island revenues; to which the British Government added £8100 more. A few thousands as well were given by the Assembly to the Moravians, the Kirk of Scotland, and the Wesleyans, for the erection or repair of their chapels.

But although the expenditure of the island has of late years undergone a considerable diminution, and taxation has been more equitably levied, the public burdens are made to weigh most heavily on the peasantry. The import tax of 12½ per cent payable on all imports, presses unfairly on the poor as the largest consumers. Salt provisions, meat, fish, and farinaceous articles, consumed chiefly by the lower classes, are taxed as high as 30 and 40 per cent. The planter pays no taxes on carts and wains used on the plantation, only on those that traverse the roads. The small settler pays a tax on all the wheeled vehicles he may possess. The rate was formerly only 4*s*. 2*d*. on each cart; it is now 18*s*. In consequence of this, as I was informed by a Clerk of the Peace of a large sugar growing parish, where formerly five hundred carts were paid for, the number is reduced to one hundred and ninety seven; thus hindering the development of the industry of the people, and the supply of the markets with provisions from distant places. It has an injurious effect on the attendance of the people at public worship.

Formerly they would bring all the family in their vehicles; now, deprived of their use, women and children, to a considerable extent, are kept at home.

The natives are fond of horses. They are the draft stock of the poor man. Accordingly they are taxed 10*s.* a head. The planter works his estates with oxen and bullocks; but his draft stock pays no tax at all.

Immigration is provided for by a tax on exports. The planter pays at the rate of 3*s.* a hogshead. The small settler must pay at the rate of 2*s.* on each barrel of coffee, sugar, ginger, and arrowroot he exports. Thus he pays in a far greater ratio than the planter for the introduction of labourers solely for the planters' use. The proprietor of thousands of acres pays 10*s.* a year to have his name registered as a voter. The possessor of a small allotment of only one or more acres must pay the same.

If the House of Assembly has had any policy at all in its treatment of the labouring classes, it has been a "policy of alienation." Only the perpetual interposition of the British Government, has prevented the enfranchised negro from being reduced to the condition of a serf, by the selfish partisan legislation of the Jamaica planters.* There has been an incessant cry for

* "Even now, in the former slave colonies which possess representative institutions, the body of the population does not practically exercise such an influence in the Assemblies as to exempt the advisers of the crown from the duty of keeping a watchful eye upon the proceedings of the legislatures, for the purpose of checking any attempts which might be made to pass laws bearing unfairly on the labouring classes." Earl Grey on the Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration, vol. i. p. 24.

more labourers, and costly schemes of immigration have been adopted to supply the need; yet the natural increase of the people was uncared for, and the waste of infantile life has gone on unchecked. Not a single law has been passed to establish dispensaries, or to provide medical assistance for the mass of the population. As slaves, the people were never instructed in husbandry, or in the general cultivation of soil; as free men, the legislature has utterly neglected them, and they have had to learn as they could the commonest processes of agriculture. No attempt has been made to provide a fitting education for them; for the paltry grant of some £2500 a year cannot in any sense be said to be a provision for their instruction. Statistics of all kinds are most imperfect. I could not learn the actual number of estates under cultivation, nor the number of properties or freeholds. No census had been taken since 1844; to this day no one knows the number of deaths in the fatal years of 1851-2 from cholera and small-pox, nor whether the population is on the increase or decrease.* The criminal returns are in the same way imperfect; so that there exists no reliable information on which measures of utility and improvement can be based. Every attempt to pass a bastardy law, to stay if possible the progress of the greatest evil which slavery has left behind, has failed through the reluctance of the governing class. Every improvement in this direction has come

* A census has been taken since my return to Europe, from which it appears that the population has increased over 63,000 since 1844, notwithstanding the ravages of cholera and small-pox.

from the growth of moral sentiments, aided by the rigid discipline of the missionary churches.

Speaking of this feature of Jamaica legislation, Earl Grey, writing in 1853, says :—"The Statute Book of the island for the last six years presents nearly a blank, as regards laws calculated to improve the condition of the population, and to raise them in the scale of civilisation."* This is unfortunately as true in 1861 as 1853. And it is the more unfortunate as the growing independence, intelligence, and wealth of the negro population, must, ere many years elapse, give them the predominance in the Legislature. The feelings engendered by the treatment they have all along received from the planting interest, may, it is to be feared, lead them to an unjust use of their power, and perhaps to a retaliatory policy for the wrongs they have endured. Happily the present Governor, following in the steps of many of his predecesssors, deals impartially with every class, strives to prevent, as far as possible, the mischievous effects of the selfish policy that has been pursued, and exerts himself to rescue the Government from the grasp of personal interests and ambition.

There now exists no legal obstacle to the attainment of the highest offices of the State by men of any class. Coloured men are found in the Assembly, and in the Executive, on the bench, and at the bar. The chief minister of the Governor is of native extraction.† In private

* Colonial Policy of Lord J. Russell's Administration, vol. i. p. 173.

† He has recently (1861) resigned his office.

life prejudice against colour is not, however, unknown. One coloured gentleman, of high position, assured me that it had ceased to operate, or nearly so. All colours mix freely in the daily concerns of life, only controlled in intimacy by intellectual or moral qualities, wealth, and position—the ordinary influences under which society arranges itself everywhere. On the other hand, an English gentleman of consideration, and long acquainted with the island, evinced the strongest prejudice against the class of mixed blood as distinct from the pure black, and declared that with very rare exceptions he never knew one that was to be trusted. He said, that if the Haytien government continued in the hands of the brown men, the ruin of the country is inevitable. This is certainly an extravagant opinion; but it is worthy of mention as a clue to some of the anomalies and difficulties which beset the progress of the West Indies in intelligence and wealth. However this may be, it is certain that, in the course of a few years, the government will be in the hands of Creoles,* and probably free from the influence of absentee proprietors. The land, both in large and small properties, is rapidly becoming the possession of residents, among whom the coloured classes will inevitably predominate, and with them will eventually rest the government of the country. It is a matter of urgent interest that both brown and black should be prepared by every educational, moral, and

* By the term "Creole," is understood a native of the island; without regard to colour.

religious influence, for the position they must ere long attain.

It is greatly to be regretted that it has become the habit of the coloured Creoles to speak of the white population as foreigners, although a large proportion of the whites are as much natives, being born in the island, as the Creoles themselves, and were certainly occupants of the soil before them. The presence of the white is the chief security for order and good government, for the antagonism between the brown and the black is greater than that of either against the white. The brown element has of late largely influenced the Assembly, and with no advantage to the country. The brown people are eager for place, and the number of offices of emolument under the Government is perfectly astonishing.

Previous to 1830, the mixed race, though to a large extent forming the free population of the island, lay under many social and political disabilities. Brown people were denied the suffrage at elections, could not act as jurors, were rejected from employment in agriculture, and by law were excluded from offices of public trust. They were even shut out from public elementary schools, the whites alone enjoying the right of education in them: Their acquisition of property was also limited, whether by purchase or bequest. At an earlier period they could not bear testimony against white men, their oaths were refused; and whatever their birth, they were deemed always illegitimate. Still, under these oppressive disqualifications, the brown people increased in wealth.

At the time of emancipation they held a large number of slaves, chiefly employed as domestic servants, or artisans, and hired out to the plantations. Their legal disqualifications were gradually removed, and just previous to emancipation, owing to a strong representation made to Parliament in 1827 by Dr. Lushington, their grievances were redressed, and they were endowed with the same political privileges as the white inhabitants of the island. They do not, however, as a class appear to have taken any part in the struggle to obtain the freedom of the slave. Though allied to the bondman as well as to the freeman, their sympathies were more with the white than the black, and little aid was given by them to the abolition party. Some honourable exceptions might be named of men, who at the risk of life protected the hunted slave, comforted the captive missionary, and aided in the general assault on the monstrous evil. There were a few in connection with missionary Churches, who released their slaves previous to emancipation. But generally they either stood aloof from the conflict, or opposed the act which would deprive them of their human property, and a few were amongst the most violent in their opposition to the cause of human liberty.

They were, however, no worse than the class which claimed superiority in intelligence and colour. Perhaps their relation to the white placed them under peculiar temptation to imitate the oppressor of both brown and black. But these facts will explain the origin of the present state of feeling, and direct to a just estimate

of the causes which affect the present and future welfare of Jamaica. The long existing feud between the brown and the black in Hayti, unchecked by the energy and superior will of the white, has been the fruitful source of its anarchy and decrepitude. It is incumbent on every friend of the negro race to discourage, and in every proper way to repress, a similar strife in Jamaica. For years to come the predominance of the European will be necessary for this purpose —to harmonize, by impartial and just regard to the rights of all, the conflicting social elements which differing colour and race produce.

A day was very pleasantly spent in a trip down the Rio Cobre, in company with Mr. Phillippo and the Government engineer. The object was to inspect the damage done by the river to the chapel and village at Passage Fort, and for which Mr. Phillippo was seeking compensation from the Government. We went by railway to a bridge, where a small canoe was waiting to convey us to the river's mouth. The swift current rapidly floated us along, under the pilotage of the owner of the boat. The river runs in a channel cut a few years ago in order to drain the swamp near Kingston, formed by the sand-banks that the sea constantly threw up at its embouchure into the harbour. The new channel, however, silts up as before. The waters now flood the village of Passage Port, and cut off the chapel, the floor of which they often invade, from the use of the people. The thick foliage of the acacia woods on either side, matted together by the beautiful

lianes and pendent flowers, overhung the stream, and made our voyage somewhat perilous. We had often to dodge the branches of the trees, or some log which the flood had brought down from the mountains. Thus gliding along for two or three miles, we at length reached the bar, formed by the sand and the debris deposited from the annual floods. Some time was occupied by the boatmen in cutting a passage through the mangroves which obstructed the water way. This brought us into a creek of still water, and in sight of the chapel. In high floods only can the river overcome the bar. So, to escape to the sea, it had formed numerous channels among the houses of the village, surrounded the chapel with a sort of canal, and often rose several feet in the cottages of the people. The chapel was once on the sea-beach; but so much new land has been made by the combined action of river and sea, that it is now some hundreds of feet inland. It is a good substantial brick building, but the floor has become rotten with the effects of the floods. It was inaccessible on one side, and on the other was a swamp impassable in the rains. For six months past both public worship and the day school had been discontinued, and Mr. Phillippo has met his large congregation under a tree.

All his applications to the Executive Council, or the House of Assembly, for redress have hitherto failed. It is admitted that his claim is just, seeing the injury accrues from the act of the Government itself. But under one pretence or another, while thousands of pounds

have been voted for the erection of churches and chapels of the Establishment, Wesleyans, and Moravians, this simple act of justice is withheld.

Another day was spent by Mr. Brown and myself in visiting the station of Old Harbour Bay. A pleasant drive of two hours took us to this straggling town, once much more resorted to by shipping than is now the case. We soon found the Baptist chapel, which is occupied by a congregation under the care of Mr. Dowson. While waiting for the person in whose charge it was, we strolled down to the beach, which lies behind the mission premises. We fell in with an intelligent black man, living in a small neat cottage, a little removed from the reach of the highest tides. In front was a short timber jetty, which he had built for the accommodation of the boats of the ships lying in the offing; he supplies them with provisions, pickles, peppers, fish, and the like. In slavery time he was a stevedore, and earned a good deal of money. He was a Wesleyan, and appeared to be a genuine Christian. He lamented the decay of piety among the people; said that they were not so attentive to religious duties as in years past, and that many of the young people were very careless and irregular in attendance at public worship. The Wesleyan congregation had much declined. When the minister came, usually once a month, fifty or sixty persons would assemble; at other times not twenty-five. This was partly owing to the migration of the people into the interior, where they had purchased land; then the cholera took off many in 1851. As to earnings, he would consider ten

shillings a week a good week; but they were often less. In slavery he earned much more, but then he did not know how to spend his money; he was not then a Christian. "Would he not wish those times again to return, and be again a slave?" we asked. "No," he replied, "I would rather live on a few pence than be a slave, and rich. Now I am free, and can have the help and love of my children." On the whole, he said, he was doing very well; he had a house in Old Harbour Market, three miles off, which he let, and he earned enough from the shipping for his family. One son is a fisherman, and his daughter carries the fish to the mountains and towns for sale; she was about to be married, and a little house was building for her at a short distance.

The deacon of the Baptist Church now came and led us to the dwelling house, and then to the chapel. He was an intelligent coloured man; his occupation is that of a cattle breeder; his penn is near at hand, chiefly laid down in guinea grass. He conducts worship in the minister's absence, generally expounding as "God gives to him." He is trying to induce the people to contribute towards the repairs, of which both the chapel and house stand in need. He, too, lamented the degeneracy of the people, and their inattention to religion. "They have got no heart in it," he said. They are not so well able to contribute as formerly; wages are less, and there is little or no employment on estates in this quarter. But he thought that anyone earning three shillings a week, and having a garden, or piece of provision ground, can

afford to give threepence, or even sixpence a week, towards the minister's support. Two fishermen who joined us, both members of the Church, said that they earned, in good weeks, 12*s.* to 15*s.*; in bad weeks, from 3*s.* to 5*s.* As it regards the spiritual condition of the Church, they assured us that discipline is carefully maintained, and we were gratified with the spirit and tone of their remarks on the duty of maintaining purity of life, and holiness of character among the members.

All the three men agreed in assuring us that the people on the estates were very irregularly paid, and attributed to this cause any unwillingness to work that they exhibit. Almost all possess provision grounds, which of late have suffered from drought. Flour has to be brought from Kingston; and as carriage is costly, the price is greatly enhanced. As many of the estates in this neighbourhood have fallen into decay, the population has considerably diminished; this may partially account for the diminution of attendance on public worship.

Before leaving the town we enjoyed a very pleasant interview with the pastor of the Native Baptist Church. His chapel is a neat building, in good repair, excepting the portico; it was built in 1842 by the congregation, and cost £900; it took about ten years to pay for it; and will hold 350 or 400 persons. The Church was formed by the present pastor, who was once a deacon in the other Church, but seceded in 1841, during Mr. Taylor's ministry, many of the people leaving with him. He is a black man. The membership once numbered four hundred persons; it has dwindled to about fifty.

The pastor attributes this partly to the decay of religious feeling, but much more to the scattering of the people from the diminution of local employment. He has two stations in the neighbouring parish; one contains 200 members, the other 25. His income from them all is about £40 a year; formerly it amounted to £70, or rather more. To our inquiries as to the discipline maintained in this purely native community, we were much pleased with the apparently genuine expression of his desire to keep the fellowship pure. He declined to join the Native Baptist Association, in 1841, because he did not like the character of some of the ministers. Intelligent as this good man appeared to be, his knowledge of books was very limited.

His account of the social condition of the people was interesting, in which he was corroborated by his brother, a shrewd, sharp man, whom we found at work as a carpenter in the yard. Wages on the sugar estates in this parish (St. Dorothy), range from ninepence to one shilling a day; carpenters get one shilling and sixpence a day. The labourers are very irregularly paid; often at the time of payment the manager refuses to pay according to agreement, and forces the labourers to take less than their due. It is of no use to appeal to the magistrate; the magistrate is generally an overseer, or a planter, or an attorney, and sometimes the employer himself; no justice can be had. Even a written agreement will be treated as waste paper. Labourers can be had in abundance, if properly paid; even as it is, notwithstanding the unjust treatment they often receive, they are

to be had. Hard as it is at times to live, they would on no account go back into slavery. Three half-pence a day would be better. Both were once slaves. We could not but feel on witnessing their intelligence, their manly bearing and figure, that slavery, at its best, must have been a galling chain to them. We were indeed greatly struck with the generally stalwart frames and fine *physique* of both men and women in this quarter; in shape and muscular development, they are certainly as fine a peasantry as the world can show. As to trustworthiness, these men said that they thought there was not much to choose between white, brown, or black.

In the above statements respecting labour, I have given the views of the people themselves. They are certainly not without foundation, though the faults charged on the planters are not so common as they once were. I shall not enter here on any discussion of the question of the supply of labour. I wish only to point out, that whether well founded or not, the people believe that deeds of injustice are of frequent occurrence, and act upon that belief. Whether they are right or wrong, that belief materially affects the supply of labour; could it be removed, it is more than probable that many of the complaints of planters of an insufficient supply would cease.

Our black friends would not let us depart without some refreshment. Cocoa-nuts were speedily gathered, and the refreshing beverage they contain set before us. There was a most gratifying air of comfort about their well-built dwelling; the furniture was good and abundant. Fowls and pigs were roaming about the

yard, and work was going on in the outhouses. They were polite, respectful, and ready to communicate what they knew. We left them with many expressions of regard, and could not but rejoice that these once slaves are free, and in every respect show themselves fit to enjoy the blessing of liberty.

The day following, we visited three large and fine estates, three or four miles from Spanish Town. They are called "The Caymanas," and belong to absentee proprietors. As our visit took place before crop time, we did not see the sugar works in operation; but on one of them we found large alterations and improvements in progress, new machinery being about to be introduced, of the latest invention. A steam-engine and boilers lay about, waiting the completion of the brick work in which they were to be set. To the manager of one of these estates we were indebted for many interesting facts. He believed that a steam-engine was far more profitable than a cattle-mill. The additional quantity of juice pressed from the cane, was more than sufficient to cover the extra cost; while a great deal of time was saved in the taking off the crop, and fewer cattle were required on the estate. It might be that on small estates, and fuel not easily attainable, that a cattle-mill would answer best; but certainly not where estates are large. In the working of the engines, he employed none but Creoles—coloured or black men;* he had himself trained all the foremen

* It is a curious fact, as exhibiting the differing genius of the two races, that it has not been found practicable to give the charge of steam-engines into the hands of the natives of India.

on the estate. Negroes were his firemen, boilermen, coopers, masons, &c; but an English engineer was paid to look at the machine occasionally, and to direct its repairs. The engineer exercised the same oversight on several estates. Improvements in machinery have chiefly been introduced into Jamaica within the last ten years. In field cultivation, and in preparing the land for the cane, the plough is used. Some planters dispute its value, affirm that it pulverizes the ground too much, which thus affords less hold to the roots of the cane, so that the plant is easily thrown down in high winds. Our informant did not think so; on the contrary, he believed that good farming requires the pulverization of the soil, to expose it to the sun and air, as otherwise in a tropical climate it becomes baked into a hard and almost inpenetrable cake. In point of cheapness, the plough is greatly to be preferred. An acre can be ploughed at a cost of 8*s*.; a second ploughing, with harrowing, costs 12*s*.; total 20*s*. an acre;—but the cost of digging holes with the hoe is £3. 12*s*. an acre. The land is besides much cleaner when worked with the plough, and one or two cleanings are saved after the plant is in.

Our informant said further, that it must be admitted that the negro often has too much reason to complain of the irregularity with which he is paid, and of the treatment he receives from his employers. But one or two things must be taken into consideration: the negro is a bad arithmetician; consequently, if his wages are retained two or three weeks, he will forget that he

has not done so much work as his neighbour, or that he was absent a day, or the like. Then, again, many planters retain one or more weeks' wages in hand, with the hope of securing the return of the labourer the week following. Hence mistakes and suspicions arise. Our informant finds that he is able to secure labour more regularly by paying every week; and at the same time, errors and misapprehensions are avoided. He acts on the principle that "Short reckonings make long friends," and in this respect the Creole of Jamaica is as amenable to reason and to the promptings of self-interest as the labourer of other lands. The people are fond of keeping horses and carts, which are usually employed to take garden produce to market on Saturdays, but are idle all the rest of the week. He proposed to his labourers that he should hire them in crop time; to this they cheerfully assented, greatly to their own profit, while it has increased their attachment to the estate. In some parishes, Clarendon for instance, the black people are putting up mills and making sugar, which is chiefly sold in the island; so that the inhabitants are better supplied with it than at any previous time. He knew one black man, who, last year, made one hundred barrels of sugar. Estate sugar, with rare exceptions, is consigned to parties in England, and very little finds its way into local consumption. Although many sugar estates have been thrown up, our informant thought that the area of cultivation in the island is equal to that of any former period. This calculation includes the provision grounds and settlements of the people.

There is a difficulty in getting labour in sufficient quantity in the manufacturing season, owing to the people having their own crops to gather in, for which, he thought, they are not to be blamed. In very dry years the estates furnish but little labour, and were it not for their provision grounds, they would starve. He said, very emphatically, that it was utterly untrue that the people had not improved since emancipation; they had made very great progress in civilization and comfort. They work hard for themselves.

The owner of this estate is not unmindful of the moral and intellectual wellbeing of his labourers; he supports a school especially for their benefit. This we visited, and spent an hour in examining and talking to the little ones. Afterwards, their elders assembled to listen to a few remarks which we were requested to address to them.

The facts and statements I have recorded from the lips of this intelligent manager, are very instructive, as confirming and explaining those already given by the labourers. I have only to add, that the estates in question have never ceased working, but have continued in operation from times antecedent to the abolition of slavery. If there have been periods of loss and depression, the estates are now, and have been for the last few years, productive of considerable profit to the proprietors. This is, doubtless, owing to wise and economic management, to improved methods of culture, to the excellence of the soil, to the nearness of the sea, which involves but little expense in shipping the produce, and, not

least, to the prudent management of the labourers. In considerable numbers, the estates' negroes continue to reside in the villages they inhabited when slaves, and are induced to remain by rent-free grants of provision grounds, or by the letting to them, at fair and moderate rents, the houses and lands they occupy.

The day following our visit to the Caymanas, a party of five was made up, consisting of Mr. and Miss Phillippo and ourselves, for a trip to the negro settlement at Sligoville, which lies to the north of Spanish Town, some twelve miles in the mountains. We started at seven o'clock, on horseback, the thermometer being 68° at that hour. We reached Orange Grove, a very lovely spot half-way belonging to Mr. Phillippo, about nine; and, after breakfast, continued our journey. The road, after crossing the river Cobre by a ford, was a continuous ascent, and, for a mountain road, a very good one. It wound round the mountains, the overhanging bush and forest trees forming throughout a beautiful grove. In places we passed some magnificent specimens of the silk cotton-tree, with noble stems rising to a height of from forty to sixty feet, their massive branches stretching out at right angles from the upper part of the trunk. Buttresses of enormous size gather round the base of the tree, and give an impression of magnitude and strength. The wild fig-tree, held in the stifling embrace of its cable-like stems some cedar, or mahogany, or other forest tree. Innumerable creepers filled every crevice, or ran over the honeycombed rocks in wild profusion, or hung

in long ropes from the branches of the trees. Low walls and banks were decked with various species of convolvulas, of a pure white, or exquisite blue, or of a delicate buff pink. Orchids covered the ground, or grew plenteously on the trunks and branches of some decaying monarch of the forest, adorning with their brilliant flowers the decay on which they fed. Ferns in infinite variety, and of most graceful forms, peeped out of every nook and hole, in shady places growing to the size of shrubs; while many flowers, of names unknown to us, spangled the bushes and herbage on every side. The views were increasingly fine as we went on ascending. The Blue Mountains, Kingston, with its noble haven, and Old Harbour Bay, and beyond the old ocean, in turns burst upon us as we rounded the spurs of the mountain, or came upon some opening in the hills. The vegetation was everywhere most profuse, crowning every peak and hiding every rock. Cultivation was scarce, though signs of old plantations were abundant. Here and there cottages peeped out from amongst their gardens of bananas, or groves of orange-trees. Orange Grove, the mountain residence of our venerable friend, is a small level grass plain, or hollow, bounded on every side by mountains, and thickly planted with orange-trees, and its congeners, the citron and the shaddock. Being the season for oranges, and the trees being abundantly laden with their luscious burden, we enjoyed the rich treat of fruit perfectly ripe and gathered fresh, after our thirst-producing ride. Behind the cottage, the hill sides are clothed with pimento-

trees. This beautiful tree grows to a considerable height, the bark peeling off, and leaving the trunk of a silvery white appearance; the foliage is a dark green, and the leaves are strongly imbued with the aromatic fragrance of the berry which forms the spice. The garden was filled with choice tropical flowers, and numerous orchids nourished their grotesque plumes on the decaying trunks of uprooted trees. The air was most salubrious and refreshing after the heat of the lowlands. Hither we returned to sleep after our trip to Sligoville.

A visit to this township was interesting, it being the first of those numerous settlements of the enfranchised slaves which sprang into existence immediately after emancipation. It comprises about fifty acres of land: twenty-five acres were purchased in the commencement of 1835, by Mr. Phillippo, as peculiarly eligible for a village settlement, on account of the good roads about it, and its proximity to Kingston and Spanish Town. The spot was, moreover, attractive from the beauty and grandeur of the scenery, and the salubrity of its climate. From the summit, where the chapel and mission house are built, the sea is distinctly visible on the north as well as the south side of the island, while it commands a full view of the extensive and fertile parish of St. Thomas in the Vale, surrounded by its lofty barriers of mountain and rocky heights. The dearth of moral and religious instruction also pointed it out as a desirable situation for a missionary station. It was named after the then Governor of the colony, the Marquis of Sligo, who, with his family, took great interest in it, as the

first town that was to arise in the West Indies on the ruins of slavery.

When the land was bought, with the exception of a few dilapidated negro huts and garden plots, it was a wilderness. Masses of rock strewed the ground, and the rank vegetation obstructed the prospect. The first buildings erected were soon too small to hold the people who flocked to the worship of God. The chapel now standing was accordingly erected, and opened in January, 1838, a few months before the close of the apprenticeship. In June, two months before entire freedom was proclaimed, the first lot of land was purchased by Henry Lunan, formerly a slave and head man on an adjoining plantation. I record his name to mark with especial emphasis this commencement of a new era, not only of liberty, but of an independent peasantry in the island of Jamaica. The remaining acres were quickly bought up, twenty-five more were added to the township, and about one hundred families settled on the spot.*

The escape thus opened to the people from the neighbouring estates, where attempts were made in various ways to coerce their labour at inadequate wages, soon attracted the attention of the planting interest, and the most outrageous attacks were made on the people and on the missionary who assisted them. It is unnecessary here to discuss the economical bearings of these small freeholds, either on the growth of the staples, or the general welfare of the island, which the more

* Baptist Herald for 1840. No. 36, p. 2.

enlightened planters anticipated and regretted. The enfranchised people had an indefeasible right to act as they did: nevertheless they were exposed to many annoyances, some of them of the most petty description. The proprietors of estates in the vicinage would erect no fences, would give no redress for the trespass of their cattle; they cut down the fruit trees which the people had long enjoyed, and threatened to pull down the estates' houses over their heads, if they would not work for the wages they named. It may be true that the expectations of the negroes, as to the value of their labour, were raised too high; but there is no doubt that on the whole they were prepared to accept a fair remuneration, and that a mutual understanding might have been arrived at, but for the unwise determination of the majority of the planters to secure labour by a system of coercion rather than by equitable payment. The slaves were scarcely free before the charge of idleness, which has been repeated to our own day, began to be made. The struggle of free labour was inaugurated by an opposition the most bitter and malignant, and most detrimental to the interests of the employers of labour.

Nevertheless Sligoville, and scores of other free settlements, grew and prospered. Estates around them, which drove away the people, have gone to decay, and their proprietors have sunk into penury; but the peasantry that they scorned to conciliate and win by fair treatment, has advanced in material wealth and social importance.

The chapel in which the people of Sligoville assembled

to meet us, is built on the slope of the mountain, so that the interior has tiers of seats rising from the side where the pulpit is placed. It was not in good repair; being large, the cost of repairs is heavy; but by the liberal exertions of the people, a portion of the roof had been newly shingled, and preparations were in progress for the rest. The men had hewn the timber in the forest, and borne it on their shoulders some six miles up steep ascents; while the women, not in the least behind the men in zeal and activity, had conveyed a large quantity of shingles on their heads. The accumulated materials now lay beneath the trees, waiting the leisure of the people to be used on the chapel.

Although our coming was not known beforehand, a good number assembled. We examined the children in their attainments, and then spoke with the parents on their habits, their social condition, what England expects of them, and what is said about them. Nothing could exceed the readiness of their replies, the scorn of idleness they expressed, and the earnest utterance of their wish to do diligently all that it is their duty to do. They were well and sufficiently dressed, and both men and women were scrupulously clean. The faces of the young were certainly finer, more civilized looking than those of the old people; but all were intelligent, open, and apparently sincere. To our repeated questions they said that they were willing to work, and thought one shilling a day not too much for field labour, nor two shillings too much for a carpenter. Many of the older men and women were formerly slaves, and I am

persuaded much misapprehension arises from our forgetting this. Those born free, or made free in early life, before slave influences had wrought their debasing effect on them, both in a moral and physical sense, can hardly yet be said to form any considerable part of the adult population; in fact, they are only just now coming forward into active life.

The village lies in a hollow, below the summit on which the chapel stands, and like all native settlements, the houses are almost shrouded from view by the fruit trees and bushes they allow to grow profusely around them.

We returned next day to Spanish Town, passing on our way a plantation rapidly running to bush. Its history is a short one, and very illustrative of the way in which ruin has overtaken so many of the proprietors of the soil. A few years ago, this property was in good condition. It belongs now to a young lady of colour, not yet of age; but has been let by the attorney, who has it in charge, to its present tenant on exceedingly favourable terms. The attorney never looks after it, and the tenant does not think it worth his while to keep it in order. By the end of the term it will have become a wilderness, and the cost of clearing it will be more than it is worth.

CHAPTER III.

The Bog Walk—Linstead—George Give—The Gospel in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale—Persecutions—The Church at Jericho—Its Organization—State of Religion—Slavery in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale—Generosity of Negroes—Sugar Cultivation—Mount Hermon—Opinions of the People—Wages and Labour—Character of the People—Why Estates are Ruinate—Two Classes of Labourers—Employment of Coolies—Causes of Decay of Sugar Cultivation—Removal of Protection—A Natural Bridge—Mount Diabolo.

JERICHO, a station, in the charge of the Rev. James Hume, and about fourteen miles northward of Spanish Town, is in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale. The first part of the road to it lies through the celebrated pass called the Bog Walk. It is a gorge in which the Rio Cobre rolls on its way to the sea from the vale beyond. At the entrance the hills are low. Gradually they increase in height, pressing closer and closer, until the river, with the road hugging first the right and then the left bank, winds along at the base of stupendous perpendicular cliffs. The mountains are massed together, and clothed to their tops with forest trees, which cling to every overhanging rock, and occupy every nook. Creepers and orchids invest their branches, and tendrils hang in graceful festoons from their lofty boughs. Flowers light up the foliage with their bright colours, and butterflies of brilliant hues sport among them. The river, in its

serpent-like course, sweeps along, now in quiet flow, now tumbling noisily over rapids formed by fallen rocks. About midway it is crossed by an old Spanish bridge built of timbers, laid over from pier to pier. Two block houses, or small batteries, of Spanish erection, one on a level with the pass, the other high upon a projecting precipice, once completely forbade a passage to a hostile force; they are now overgrown with bush. Further on, the defile opens into a lovely circular space, surrounded by mountains, where the emancipated people have formed a village; it is called "Kent" village. In another part, so narrow is the road, we were stopped some time by a large waggon, filled with barrels of flour, drawn by seven pairs of oxen, and driven with very long whips and noisy shouts. At length we emerged from amid the plumage of bamboos, and the gloomy passages of overhanging rock, into the open plain of the Vale.

The road was in excellent order, having, with the roads generally throughout the island, been lately repaired, at the cost of more than £50,000. The engineer informed me that so far from its being difficult to obtain labour, there was more offered than he could employ. He had some 15,000 persons then at work, and could double the number at once if necessary. The rate of wages was 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, a higher rate than that of estate labour, and was paid regularly. The latter point was especially mentioned, as having more influence than the former in calling out this ample supply of labourers.

Near to Jericho, we passed through Linstead, one of the many flourishing villages which have sprung up since emancipation. It contains several "stores," or shops, of considerable size, and at its weekly market more than 2000 people are said to be usually present. The store-keepers, in addition to their business as salesmen of draperies, groceries, and the like, purchase pimento and coffee of the small proprietors, which they repack for exportation. The station of Jericho lies off the main road about a mile, and retains the name it bore as a pimento plantation before it became the scene of missionary labour. It is nearly in the centre of the Vale, the soil of which is regarded as the richest in the island; and its fields were at one time laden with crops of sugar cane and maize. Now, bush has overgrown the pastures, and the fields lie "ruinate," to use the expressive word of Jamaica. Groves of cocoa nut, palm trees, and the useful banana, surround the homesteads of the people; and sparkling streams, in the rainy season becoming torrents, glimmer in the bright sun, and invite to the culture of the land by their sure promises of fertility.

A man of colour, from the Southern States of North America, by name George Give, was the first to preach the Gospel in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale. Frequently was he seized while on the estates at night, cast into a dungeon, and his feet made fast in the stocks —once in Spanish Town for four days—his sole offence the attempt to minister to the spiritual wants of the slave. No discouragement stayed his beneficent steps,

and many hundreds received the word of life with gladness and in sincerity of heart. A public profession of faith in Christ was sure to expose both teacher and disciple to persecution. Hence, in the shades of the forest, in unfrequented places, in the caves of the surrounding mountains, and during the darkness of night, did his flock meet to commune together, and to observe the ordinances of Christianity. After a time a piece of land was privately bought, and a lonely hut erected for Divine worship. The spot was surrounded with swamps, and hidden from passers-by by the trees and bush which held it in their bosom. Two white men at length discovered the retreat, and quickly levelled the humble structure with the ground. George Give continued preaching as long as he was able, and at length died in 1826, at Pembroke Hall, in the parish of St. Mary's. He was a good man, much respected by the slaves whom he sought to benefit, and was the means of awakening many to a religious life.

Before his death, the Rev. J. M. Phillippo had begun to visit the parish. An attempt to erect a chapel on the same spot was again interrupted by one of the same men. He stopped the surveyor while measuring the land, and when the timber was cut down to put up the chapel elsewhere, he sent his waggons to cart it away. Such was the state of the island at that time, that the Attorney General advised the missionary to abstain from seeking redress by law. When a baptist missionary was plaintiff, and a slaveholder the defendant, there was no chance of obtaining justice from a jury, every man of

which was an owner of slaves. The rector and his vestry also pronounced themselves to be the opponents of the missionary, calumniating his character, and in every possible way hindering his work. When in 1830 the Rev. J. Clarke began his labours, there was no chapel to screen the people from the sun and rain. His first sermon was preached under the shade of an orange tree, while the people found shelter under a booth of cocoa nut and palm leaves. During the excitement of the insurrection of 1832 the people met together in peril of life; the huts in which they assembled were destroyed, many were severely flogged for daring to pray,* and the chapel which had been erected was set on fire. An attempt was also made to silence the missionary. A constable and a band of white men were directed by the magistrates to stop the worship, and disperse the worshippers. The missionary was summoned to the police office, and his licence demanded. He was sent before the grand jury and a true bill found against him for preaching.† These persecutions had but little effect in checking the progress of the truth. With emancipation came numerous accessions to the Church. A large and excellent place of worship was erected, and a house for the minister. At the time of our visit there were 1018 persons in fellowship.

It will be interesting to give some particulars of the

* One poor woman was put into the stocks for eleven days, because from a sore hand she was unable to work, and was known to go to hear the missionary preach.

† The Baptist Herald, 1841, p. 178.

organization and general condition of this church. Near the chapel there is but a small population; the congregation is drawn from an area of twelve miles around it. The Church is distributed into thirty-two classes, having in various parts of the district as many class houses. These are usually built of timber, and thatched with grass, or palm leaves; each may hold from sixty to one hundred persons. Besides the thirty-two leaders, there are eight deacons whose duties are of a more general kind. For the use of the classes the minister has adopted the excellent plan of providing each leader with a copy of the "Gospel Trumpet" monthly, portions of which are read at each meeting. A members' meeting is held every month for prayer, the admission of members, and the exercise of discipline. Cases of wrong doing are first noticed in the weekly meeting of the leaders with the pastor. Quarrels are usually settled by the leaders with a reproof; if their influence is not sufficient, the deacons will interfere; more serious cases are brought before the Church. The chief offences are unchastity and quarrelling. The people are said to submit better to discipline from the white minister, than from the deacons or leaders, who are all black or coloured men. "Minister, him must do his duty," is the usual remark where the infliction of discipline has been rendered necessary.

There can be no doubt that the growth of a healthy tone of social morality and of improved social habits among the people, has been greatly assisted by the strict exercise of discipline in the missionary churches. Differences of

opinion occasionally arise as to the guiltiness of parties; but the duty of maintaining the fellowship free from the intrusion of vice and ungodliness, is universally recognized, and so far as my observation extends, the decision of the Church is cheerfully submitted to. The restoration of backsliders to fellowship takes place only after a period of considerable probation. The money affairs of this Church are transacted by a secretary chosen for the purpose. He issues the annual and monthly tickets to the members and inquirers, and the subscriptions of the people are marked upon them monthly, or quarterly, as the case may be. Collections are received by the deacons; the minister acts as treasurer. This Church stands almost alone as having a secretary for its pecuniary affairs: the minister has generally to act both as treasurer and secretary, and to receive the contributions of the people himself. This arises partly from long habit, the custom having originated in slave time, when no one else was in a position to act as clerk and registrar, and partly from the suspicious temper of the people, unwilling to trust their own colour. Time only can remove a feeling like this, an outgrowth of the horrible system of slavery, from which they have so recently emerged. A considerable sum is every year expended in assisting the poorer members. Sixty persons were receiving weekly or monthly donations in this Church, and the sum expended in 1859 amounted to £52. The very poor are also buried at its cost. The accounts are regularly audited and every year read out at a meeting called for the purpose. The Sunday School

contains about 150 scholars, and there are seven day schools sustained in the district, with 317 scholars in attendance.

During our stay, we collected the deacons and leaders of the Church together, and enjoyed a prolonged conference with them. We found them, for the most part, an intelligent body of men. A few of the oldest were unable to read. They had become leaders at a time when to read was an art almost unknown among the slaves; but their piety and good sense have retained them in their post. I will embody in as few words as possible the information they gave us, both with regard to the religious and social condition of the people.

Shortly after emancipation, a decay of piety began to manifest itself; but the year after the ravages of the cholera and small pox, the additions to the Church brought back, for a little while, the former days. Signs of indifference soon reappeared, and a painful disregard of the house of God began especially to show itself among the young. The excitement of the time of emancipation died away. Many who had no root, no genuine piety, who were swayed by the enthusiasm of that memorable era, left or have been excluded. Moreover the great increase of the Establishment has contributed to lessen the number of people attending chapel. Churches have been built, and the clergy take a deeper interest in the well-being of the coloured population. In slave time they sided with the planter, and were regarded by the people as their adversaries. Now, many of them emulate the activity of the missionaries, and

reap corresponding accessions to their sect. They especially secure the more respectable and monied of the coloured people. Some doubtless join the Church of England from avaricious motives. No contributions are required of them, and there is a frequent distribution of gifts and clothing. Nor is there any salutary discipline exercised, so that a place in Church may be retained, however gay and worldly the life. A church-going habit can be kept up, which among the people is a sign of respectability, and yet worldly amusements and parties be followed without reproof.

Many of the youth, especially young brown women, will not attend church unless they are well dressed. When their clothes are faded or worn out, they absent themselves till again supplied. They are easily hindered, and are unwilling to walk the long distances the old people were wont to do. There are said to be many non-attendants at public worship in this parish; yet all claim to belong to some Christian body, whether their connection be that of communicants, or that of mere occasional visitants at church or chapel. Baptists predominate about Jericho. At Mount Hermon, a station over which Mr. Hume also presides and where he lives, the adherents of the Church of England are numerous. In some places the clergy follow the Wesleyan practice of holding watch-nights; it is the adoption of Nonconformist modes of action which has wrought much of the improvement that has taken place in the attendance and usefulness of the Establishment.

The memories of the days of slavery are rapidly passing

away. If impressions are vivid on the mind of the negro, they can also be soon obliterated. The young people do not like to be reminded that their fathers were slaves, and are reluctant to observe the first of August as the old people are glad to do. These will, even now, make pilgrimages to the places where they suffered; and there recall, with gratitude to God for their escape from it, the cruel bondage they endured.

In order to give these statements their due weight, a few considerations must not be overlooked. The formation of numerous settlements in the mountains, and the abandonment of estates in the plains, have in many instances scattered the congregations to great distances from the chapels they were wont to attend. At first the chapels were built in situations that were convenient to the people, but the shifting of the population has now made some of them inconvenient and remote. On the other hand, chapels and churches have been multiplied in the vicinity of the new settlements, new congregations have been formed, which have drawn off many from the parent seat, or divided them among other Christian bodies. In the same way the attendance at the classes has been affected. It has been found necessary to form new ones, to discontinue them in some places, and in others to divide them. In answer to our questions, the leaders also explained that many of the people have often to work a long way from home, and they either return too tired to attend class, or do not return till the end of the week, and sometimes not until the job in hand is completed Then the cholera

greatly reduced the numbers of the church and congregation. The church at Jericho lost two hundred members alone, and from this loss it has not yet recovered. We asked for an explanation of the very serious diminution in the amount of their contributions, which are now a little more than half what they were shortly after the period of emancipation. The period of decline we found to be the year 1846, when the duties on colonial sugars were equalized by the British Parliament. A large number of estates were then ruined, and employment of necessity declined. Since then the contributions have slowly increased, but have not reached by one third their former amount. Then something must be attributed to the increasing wants of the people. They require better houses than the old slave cabin; they purchase better clothes than the coarse osnaburghs of former days; they eat better food; they give their children a little education, and aspire to possess some of the comforts of civilized life. They probably spend as much, or more than ever, but their expenditure embraces a wider range of actual and artificial wants.

The parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale bore an unenviable notoriety for its cruelties in the time of slavery. Near to Jericho stood the infamously celebrated Rodney Hall Court House, in native phraseology called the "Hell of Jamaica." It stood there once, for it is now a ruin. A female member of the church, still living, gave birth to a child while on the treadmill of the House of Correction annexed to it. In the vestry book of this parish may be found entries of payments made for ears

and legs cut off for the offence of running away, and of noses slit for the same crime; some poor wretches were burnt to death, and others hanged for breaches of the atrocious slave law of those days. 'In one of our rides we passed a lofty hill, the sides of which are covered with trees and brushwood. Concealed by the thicket are many small caves, in which slaves from the neighbouring estates were wont to hide to escape these cruel punishments. They were not dislodged till the Maroons hunted them out. One man born free, and formerly in the militia, told us that he had seen men shot for nothing worse than praying, and he had a cousin, a slave, who cut his throat to escape a flogging that he expected next day. He had often seen in the caves of the mountains the bones of fugitives, who, while hidden, had died there. In a cave near his house, a skull remains to this day. Another had seen a pregnant woman laid down and flogged; she gave birth to the child while being scourged, and died. Another knew an overseer who was in the habit of throwing his dead slaves into a deep pit on the estate. He one day thought a man was dead, and ordered him to be thrown into this Golgotha. The poor fellow, still alive, heard the order. "Massa," he said, "me no dead yet." Nevertheless the order was repeated, and the hole received the dying man. A chapel now stands on the estate on which this deed of inhumanity was done.

But enough of these horrors: they can no longer be perpetrated. But they must not be forgotten in an

attempt to form a judgment of the present. It is a trait of negro character, not to be passed by without commendation, that we were unable to trace any vindictive feeling in the minds of these sufferers. On the contrary, several instances of generous kindness were mentioned to us. Thus, near to Linstead lived a lady who enjoyed a handsome income from hiring out her numerous slaves. In her last years she became poor, and was sustained by the affection and benevolence of her former bondsmen. One advanced money to bury her, and was repaid by a few acres of land. In another case, a black woman sought out, in Kingston, the daughter of her former owner, who had fallen into sin. She took her home, nursed her, fed and clothed her, and sought to reclaim her. After some months, the girl was again tempted to go astray by a white man; she became a castaway; but the black woman weeps for her still. In another parish, I saw a man who had made a little money since he became free. He and his wife were in a state of contention, because she wishes her husband to leave their little property to her old mistress, who is in poverty, and to set aside their son, which the husband is naturally reluctant to do. Attachments of this kind are strong; and the people frequently exhibit a kind of personal or feudal devotion to their old masters and estates.

The parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, at the date of the census, in 1844, contained 15,700 persons, an average of 125 persons to the square mile; the largest population per acre of any parish in the island, except Kingston, St.

Andrew's, and Port Royal.* Yet, notwithstanding its fertility and abundance of people, sugar cultivation has gone more to decay than in any other parish. Sixteen years ago, there were thirteen sugar estates working around Jericho; there are now only seven. Of eleven then working about Mount Hermon, four only remain under cultivation. Between 1832 and 1849, seventy coffee properties were abandoned. Scarcity of labour cannot have been the cause of this collapse; for in Vere, where the population is not one-fourth of that in this parish, scarcely any sugar estates have been thrown out of cultivation. Estates were ruined by mortgages, by the Sugar Bill of 1846, and by the want of capital. From May 1st, 1840, to May 1st, 1844, between six and seven hundred persons took the benefit of the bankruptcy law in the island. Their debts amounted to one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling. In the first four months of 1845, eighty persons called upon their creditors to discharge them, of whom sixteen were planters.† As the equalization of the sugar duties proceeded, and the price of sugar declined,‡ the decay

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* Number of inhabitants to each square mile in Port Royal, 171·4; St. Andrew, 152·9; St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, 125·6; Trelawny, 102·34; Westmoreland, 79·87; Vere, 28·18. The last three are the chief sugar growing parishes in the island. Port Royal and St. Andrew's contain large towns.

† Baptist Herald, 1845, p. 158.

‡ Prices of sugar in the British market, for ten years, less duty:

	s.	d.			s.	d.	
1840 ..	49	1	per cwt.	1845 ..	32	11	per cwt.
1841 ..	39	8	,,	1846 ..	34	5	,,
1842 ..	36	11	,,	1847 ..	28	3	,,
1843 ..	33	9	,,	1848 ..	23	8	,,
1844 ..	33	8	,,	1849 ..	25	4	,,

of sugar cultivation continued, until not more than one half the estates of the island are in cultivation which were working in 1844.

Still, in the Vale, a considerable proportion of the people is dependent on the estates. Some have coffee plantations in the mountains; nearly all possess provision grounds. Task work is rapidly displacing work by the day. The usual rate of wages is 1*s.* a task. The task is a quantity regulated by the "scales of labour," which were agreed to by committees of planters in every parish, soon after the Emancipation Act of 1834. It is a curious fact, that these tariffs of a day's labour of nine hours, were fixed on a higher scale than had been exacted of the slave. Free men were expected to accomplish more; but the planters under-estimated the effect of freedom on the activity and ability of the manumitted slave. A task is generally finished by midday, or soon after. The labourers say that they are willing to do more; but often the managers of estates object, because it would increase the sum of the weekly bill for labour beyond an average amount. They complain that when more than the allotted task is sometimes done, they cannot get paid for it. However this may be, it is clear that free labour is more economical than slave labour.

Careful and respectable men are not usually willing to work on sugar estates, or to suffer their families to do so. At crop time, the management of many sugar estates is very demoralizing. The people are dosed with rum; night work is carried on; men and women sleep

almost promiscuously in the barracks, or bothies, prepared for them: and hence few work on estates at such times who are not injured by it. A labourer working at cane-hole digging, can earn 12*s*. a week; a common labourer may make 8*s*. a week. These wages are not high enough to tempt men who have land of their own, and to whom a good name is an object of desire. A coppersmith, from Kingston, working on a neighbouring estate, and who possesses no land, said that he worked six days a week at his trade: his earnings ranged from 12*s*. to 15*s*. a week.

A few days were most agreeably spent with Mr. Hume and his family at Mount Hermon. It lies some ten miles to the eastward of Jericho. On our way thither we passed through several abandoned estates, one of 800 acres, which we were told might be bought for £120. It is inconveniently situated, being high in the hills and at a distance from the main road. The estates under cultivation were few; but the cane fields were bright with the coming crop. Much of our path was a mountain one, rough, stony, and steep; and as we ascended, we wound our way among the grounds of the people, planted with yams, cassada, maize, plantain, and occasionally sugar cane. In the time of slavery no one was permitted to go through a negro "quarter" without the permission of the estate manager, and the villages were generally far removed from the public thoroughfares. Now neat cottages spring up on every road side, and the freest access may be had to them; a

pleasing sign of the changes which have been going on. In our ride there was pointed out to us the spot called "Pilgrim," where the first baptist chapel of this district was erected, and which was pulled down three or four times by the planters, to be as often rebuilt by the missionaries and their people. The site is now covered with forest and bush, impenetrable except to the axe. The views of the Vale were very fine. It has all the appearance of having once been the bed of a vast lake, the waters of which have been drawn off through the Bog Walk, that magnificent chasm being probably the work of some natural convulsion. The chapel stands on one of the highest hills. It is a plain substantial structure of stone, with brick facings round the windows and doors, and will hold about 600 persons. The minister's house is at the back. It is his usual residence, being more salubrious, though not so commodious as the house at Jericho. Behind the chapel is a flourishing cocoa nut tree, planted for a memorial on the day when freedom was proclaimed.

A considerable village, named Hampshire, has sprung up since emancipation, just beyond the chapel. Taking a short walk along the road, lined with well built and neat cottages, I came upon the homestead of a young coloured man. Last year he tried his hand at the manufacture of sugar for the first time. He succeeded, he said, pretty well, and made three barrels, for which he obtained 19*s.* a cwt. This year he has planted two acres with cane, has erected a

cattle mill, and a house for the two pans, which lay near awaiting its completion. Much of the work he had done with his own hands, his wife assisting to clean the cane, about which she smiled very pleasantly as we made our inquiries. He had ingeniously availed himself of the inequality of the ground to raise a platform for the pony to traverse, while the cane could be carried underneath to the mill, and the juice be conveniently conveyed to the boiling house. He hoped this year to make nineteen barrels, or three hogsheads of sugar, which at the price then prevailing would pay him well.

At the services on Lord's-day we had a full chapel. The greatest quietness and attention prevailed. The audience seemed pretty equally divided between men and women; each sex sitting apart on opposite sides. They were comfortably and well dressed, in unobtrusive colours. The young women seemed chiefly to show their taste in the style and set of the hat. The majority were without shoes or stockings. The men were mostly habited in white jackets and trousers; the women in good plain cotton prints. Very many had an air of evident respectability. The greater part came considerable distances, from three to eight miles. I counted thirty horses in the paddock behind the chapel.

On the Tuesday following, the deacons and leaders met us in the gallery of the house; after which, we addressed about four hundred persons in the chapel. They had very cheerfully given up the day to this

gathering, which, we were assured, they could very well afford to do. In the free conversation which followed, we learnt several interesting facts as to their social condition. But few of the people who reside in these mountains work on sugar estates. A neighbouring planter was spoken highly of, as a "fine man," a "just man." He gives for wages one shilling and threepence, and one shilling and sixpence a day, and never has any difficulty in obtaining labourers; he pays punctually, and the people cheerfully serve him. Not so with another, who was named. He is a kind man in his words; but finds fault with the work, is ever on the watch to deduct from their wages, and blames his neighbours for paying higher wages than himself; for him the people work reluctantly. If the master is liked, we were told, he can easily get his labourers to give five, or even six days' work a week in crop time; and if their own crops require attention, they will find a substitute. Again we were informed that religious people do not like estate work, either for themselves or their families. Rum is too freely used to stimulate the people to labour, and in crop time all sorts of disreputable characters are taken on, so that the morals of the young people are greatly endangered. Said one man very emphatically, "It is the ruin of our wives and daughters." For this reason many managers of estates do not like religious people, call them lazy, and speak ill of them; "but," said one of our informants, "we must bear this as Christians."

Two men were particularly intelligent in their

remarks; they had not worked on an estate for many years. Each possesses from six to eleven acres of land; the cultivation of which suffices to supply every want. They grow coffee which they sell, and make sugar enough for their own use; they eat bread every day, also salt-fish and herrings; and sometimes, more than once a week, obtain fresh beef. Provisions are dearer than they were, but clothing is cheap. The soil of Jamaica, they said, is so rich that it does not require manure; the deeper it is dug, the richer it becomes. When the soil is exhausted, they prefer to occupy new ground; after lying fallow a few years, they often resume its cultivation. But virgin land is so cheap and abundant in the mountains, that it is more profitable to take it than to manure or clear old land. They have no idea of keeping a cow; they have no pasturage for one. Pigs and goats, the latter supplying them with milk, are their chief domestic animals. One has eleven children, the other nine; both have had thirteen. They live very comfortably, and can afford something for their minister.

It must be admitted that this is a very gratifying picture of the home life of men, who but a few years ago were slaves. Well might one of them say, in a tone and with a gesture of intense feeling, when asked whether he would like to go back into slavery, "I would die first."

From the period of emancipation the rate of wages has been continually declining, and the present rate does not afford an adequate support to the labourer;

nor are the wages equal to the people's earnings on their own little properties. Hence the indifference of many to estate labour, and their preference for the cultivation of their own land; added to which there is the charm of independence. Few will labour on the estates for more than four days in the week, except in crop time, when they usually give a fifth day; scarcely any will work on a Saturday. There are, in fact, more than sufficient labourers, at least in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, for the extent of sugar cultivation now carried on, and the abundance reduces the rate of wages: on the other hand, their labour is uncertain, is not always available at the time when it is most required, and is limited by their habits, special occupations, and partial wants.

The best organization of labour for the planter is, undoubtedly, that by which it can be secured with regularity as well as cheapness; but this will only take place where the labourer depends on the wages he can earn. The universal possession of provision grounds prevents this, and so great is the desire to obtain land, that a regular supply of labour can only now be secured, either through an artificial scarcity of land, or by a very large increase of population. To the question whether, if sufficient wages were given to cover both the present wages and the value of the produce of the provision grounds, they would give up their small holdings, I received but one reply from the people:—"No;" because, if from any cause, such as sickness, or a quarrel with the employer, they are

thrown out of work, they would have no means of support; or if old age comes on, any person will feed them for the surplus crop, or for the prospect of becoming the possessor of the land at the owner's death. In a word, their small freeholds secure them against the precarious requirements of the planter, and make them independent of his caprice. The abundance of labour beyond what the present cultivation can absorb, makes wages low; the abundance of land, both accessible and cheap, renders the supply of labour unequal.

One morning during our stay was occupied by a visit to the gentleman already mentioned, as being well spoken of by the people. He is a proprietor of a sugar estate and a breeding penn; on the latter of which he resides. These estates are understood to have fallen into his hands through the failure of their former proprietor. He is also manager of some other estates. He is a member of the House of Assembly, where he has ever pursued an independent and upright course. He received us with Jamaica hospitality, and chatted with us freely on the past and present state of the island. I was subsequently favoured with a written communication from him on the same subjects, and from these sources will give the views of one, whose position and character render them worthy of the gravest consideration.

He said that the Baptist ministers had the reputation of being politically troublesome; but thought that it was rather the perpetuation of the prejudice excited against them at the time of the struggle for freedom, than due to

their present course. Generally the people of Jamaica are great deceivers and liars. It might be a remnant of slavery influences; but it seemed, in most cases, inherent in their character, almost a natural peculiarity. Among estates' people especially, there are few individuals, who, unless under intimidation, adhere to the truth; and the ministers confess with sorrow and mortification, their want of success in eradicating this evil. A story was told of a negro woman, with a child on her back, who entered a store. The child quietly took a handful of nails and hid them; on going out, she asked the child what he had taken, and on seeing the nails, said laughingly:—"What! him teal from Buckra, already?" I said, that the use of the word Buckra (the white man,) by the woman, seemed to indicate that the old notion so prevalent among the slaves, that "Buckra," was fair game, was the origin of this want of honesty. To this assent was given, and after all, these propensities may have sprung up from that source; for he had twelve pure Africans, immigrants, now on the estate, who had never been slaves, and they never tell a lie. Offences against the law consist chiefly of petty larcenies; graver crimes are few. The actual number of criminals is not large. The same individuals appear before the magistrates again and again. There is a great disregard for the sanctity of an oath in the courts of law, and perjury is frequent and manifest. The poor, the widows, and the aged, are often worse off than in the times of slavery. Then, they were secure of some sort of support on the

estates. Now, if they have no relations to care for them, they become wretchedly poor and miserable. The negro is generally far from being kind and charitable to his own race.

Very many estates in this district have been thrown up, not on account of the want of capital, for in many instances they belong to men of great wealth, and two more will shortly swell the "expanse of bush." They are no longer profitable, because the people who cultivated them, when released from bondage could better themselves, and naturally did so. If any amount of money were brought to bear, there are not hands to work, much less to reclaim them, unless hired at some enormous sacrifice. Of fifteen estates in the immediate neighbourhood, four only remain under cultivation, and two of these four but partially. During slavery they were amply supplied with labour, and carried on to their utmost limit. The few remaining properties still struggling to survive, have the utmost difficulty in obtaining labour when required. Not that this is the case with himself. His people are attached to him. Cases could no doubt be mentioned where it is otherwise. Some proprietors at emancipation drove their labourers from the estates, and one was mentioned who was living at the time on the north side of the island. He swore that he would not allow a "nigger" to live within three miles of his house; of course the man was speedily ruined. Our informant knew but of one proprietor who had the sense and foresight to keep the people on his estate; he gave directions that the people

should be treated kindly, very moderate rents be required for their cottages and provision grounds, and every effort be made to retain them. That person is the only proprietor in that part of the island who has been able to work on under the depressing influences of diminishing labour, and the sugar bill of 1846.

The people must be divided into two classes, in order to judge fairly of them:—the estates' labourers, those who usually secure the means of subsistence by estate labour, and the independent peasantry of the mountains. The bad qualities referred to above are chiefly confined to the first of these classes, and from them come the complaints as to injustice and harsh treatment. Generally, wages are paid every week, or at furthest every fortnight. None of the tasks exceed one half what the negro can do, and if his earnings are "cut" at the time of payment, it is for solid and substantial reasons. This takes place most frequently among a numerous class on all estates called "lawyers," who undertake to do work, and only perform half of it; yet insist on being paid for the whole. It must be borne in mind that if negroes loiter away their time, the only resource of the overseer is to "cut" their wages, or take them to court; and whether for that, or ill-using the cattle, or wasting their master's goods, or other small offences, they much prefer a deduction from their wages, to a summons to appear before the magistrates. Although estates' people chiefly depend on wages, they have mostly their "mountains," or little patches of land, where they grow a few yams, and have a hut. This land is generally their own

property, but is as often rented from the estates at from 6*s*. to 24*s*. an acre.

The other class is a greatly superior one. It consists of persons who possess freeholds on which they live. In a mountain ride of four or five miles, twenty or more small sugar estates, and perhaps twice as many patches of pimento and coffee would be passed through. They are decent, well to do people, mostly the slaves, or their descendants, of the estates in the Vale in former times. They not only can do better on their own grounds than on sugar estates, but many have an aversion to the dissoluteness that seems inseparable from the congregation of large numbers of work-people in Jamaica. Of their general well-doing the following is an illustration. A case of saddlery was offered for sale at Linstead, containing among other things six men's saddles, at £3 10*s*. each, and three side saddles, at £5 10*s*. each. Every one was bought up within two days, together with bridles and halters, amounting to more than £3. Of the buyers not one exceeded in intelligence an ordinary Scotch ploughman, nor does any one of them reside more than two or three miles from the store. The greater part of the money was paid at once, and the rest was perfectly good. The sale of the women's saddles is particularly gratifying, as that bespeaks a better state of things as growing; for generally while the husband rides, the poor wife has to trudge along on foot. It is not likely that from such a class the Jamaica planter can attract labour to cultivate sugar, so as to compete with the produce of

slavery. Yet our worthy informant said, that it was by the favour of a fine gang of able people, from among this class, their sons and daughters, to the number of thirty-five, his canes were being then rescued from ruin. "To oblige Massa," they were willing to give him three weeks, and he hoped to secure them another week. Nominally, they were paid 30 per cent higher wages than the usual estates' people; but their work was better, they keep to their hours, and are by far the cheapest labourers on the estate. There is nothing to prevent any of the estates' people joining that gang, and earning as much money; yet none do. The mountain people keep themselves aloof from the estates' people, and their head man will eat or drink only what is given him by the white servant, or cooked by his own son.

Coolies, although not such good labourers as the Creoles, are desired by the planters as giving them a certain amount of labour on which they can depend, to some extent releasing them from the vexatious caprices which so often interrupt the required regularity of the mill. The estates' negroes exhibit no hostility or jealousy towards the Coolies, and do not seem to fear that their employment will either depreciate wages, or drive them from the estates; to African immigrants they show themselves especially friendly. The mountain people are anxious that they should come. If jocosely told that lots of Coolies are coming, they will laughingly say, "Make them come

now, Massa; they will will buy our provisions fro' we."

Remembering the necessarily different point of view from which the planter and the peasant must regard the question of labour, there does not seem any material discrepancy between their statements. At emancipation the problem of the supply of labour, and the terms on which it could be secured when the negro was no longer forced to work, were subjects of the utmost moment to the planter. That there was a great want of wisdom on the part of the planter, is very evident. But while the difficulty attendant on the settlement of these questions may have formed one of the causes of the decay of sugar cultivation, an example of which this fertile vale so painfully presents, it was by no means the most influential. In their haste to condemn the negro, the planters' advocates often forget that a cultivation profitable under a system of high protection may cease to be so under free trade; nay, that very protection, by encouraging extravagance and indifference to improvement, when removed, may become the source of ruin. On many estates, little improvement has been made in the methods of culture and manufacture; the plough is scarcely used; and some planters, even now, prefer the cattle mill to the steam engine. Without the application of more skill, the introduction of improvements in machinery, and the lessening of expenses, sugar could not be made at a profit, or at least to so large a profit, when, in consequence of the removal of protection, the price fell

from 39*s.* 2*d.* per cwt. in 1839, to 28*s.* 3*d.*, in 1847; and then to 22*s.* 8*d.*, in 1854, when the equalization of duties was complete.*

The decline in the production of coffee began before emancipation, owing to the competition of the plantations of Ceylon. Up to 1840, Jamaica continued to enjoy a protective duty of 50 per cent. as against its Ceylon adversary. In that year the duty was equalized on coffee brought from any British possession, whether in the east or west. The final blow to protection was given in 1850, from which time the fragrant berry has found its way to our breakfast tables from all parts of the world, laden impartially with the same amount of duty.†

Taking these facts into consideration, my readers will not fail to perceive, that the ruin which has overtaken so many of the proprietors of Jamaica is not

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* Prices of British Muscovado Sugar, from the London Gazette, in periods of three years:—

	per cwt. s.	d.		per cwt. s.	d.
1838 ..... under protection.	33	8	1847	28	3
1839	30	2	1848	23	8
1840	49	1	1849	25	4
1844	33	8	1852	22	5
1845	32	11	1853	24	6
1846 ..... protection diminished.	34	5	1854 ..... protection entirely removed.	22	8

† Export of coffee from Jamaica and Ceylon in periods of five years.

	Jamaica.	Ceylon.	Duties charged on Jamaica.	Duties charged on Ceylon.
1832 to 1836	71,445,872 lbs.			
1837 to 1841	45,117,434 lbs.	30,728,320 lbs.	$6\frac{5}{10}$d per lb.	$9\frac{5}{10}$ per lb.
1842 to 1846	32,633,161 lbs.	78,523,648 lbs.	equal	
1847 to 1851	26,258,822 lbs.	176,428,448 lbs.	,,	
1852 to 1856	27,141,204 lbs.	230,308,960 lbs.	,,	

to be debited to emancipation, nor to the oft asserted unwillingness of the enfranchised negroes to work. The subsequent stages of our journey will throw yet further light on this vexed question.

Before leaving Mount Hermon, we visited a rare natural curiosity in its vicinity. The morning was very foggy, the mist lying in dense masses in the deep valleys. The effect of the sun tipping with its rays the crowns of the cocoanut-trees, which in long array stood above the mist, was very curious. As it cleared away, we rode out a mile or two on the main road to Spanish Town, which here crosses the island from Port Maria. Stopping at a cottage we dismounted, and began to descend the precipitous side of a deep ravine. Through the kind forethought of our host, the bush had been cut down in anticipation of our coming, and thus the rude path, though encumbered with the roots of trees, was left unobstructed by the thick vegetation which walled us in. Having reached the bottom, our path now lay up the bed of what is in the rains, or after a storm, a torrent. Stepping over the smaller stones and rounding the boulders, and sometimes climbing the faces of the rocks, we went on, admiring the profusion of ferns, the innumerable climbing plants, and the overarching boughs, through which fitfully flickered the beams of the sun, now free from its veil of mist. A slow scramble of about twenty minutes brought us to the object of our search—a magnificent natural bridge of living rock, spanning the chasm at the height of seventy or eighty feet. Slowly we passed under the massive arch, wonder-

ing at its magnitude, admiring the play of sunlight on its rugged surfaces as the rays pierced the branches of the trees, which, overshadowing the gorge with their thick foliage, gave a mysterious character to the gloom which settled on every spot where the sun's beams could not reach. Innumerable swallows' nests covered the higher surfaces of the cliffs, and in more than one place honey trickled from the rock, where wild bees had built their cells. Passing through the arch, we found ourselves in a large circular space, like a gigantic cauldron, formed by precipices carved into a circular form by the whirl of waters from the cascade, which now gently trickled down on the upper side; but which, in the rainy season, becomes a cataract, whose roar may be heard at a considerable distance. In this pool we found two or three caves, which with the pool itself are inaccessible when the waters from the mountains come down, the height to which they rise being distinctly marked on the surface of the rocks. Here we lingered for a long time, enjoying the coolness of the air, watching the play of light and colour, picking up most exquisitely delicate land shells, and striving to fix for ever in our memories a picture of the grand and noble sight. Warned by Mr. Hume that health might suffer by a prolonged stay amidst the mass of vegetation, some of it decaying, around us, we reluctantly left and retraced our steps.

The tradition runs that this fine natural curiosity was unknown until, some sixty years ago, a straying cow was found to have crossed the hitherto impassable ravine. On tracing her path, the bridge was discovered, con-

cealed by the dense bush through which she had forced her way. We afterwards crossed it, but could only catch an imperfect glimpse through the foliage of the deep hollow from which we had just emerged.

On Friday morning, the 9th. December, we bade adieu to our esteemed friend Mr. Hume. Soon after starting the rain began to descend, and the clouds to gather round us in a thick blinding mist, as we slowly wound our way up the steep ascent of Mount Diabolo. The road was in excellent condition, having lately undergone repair; but the scenery of mountain and valley we had been led to anticipate as remarkably fine, was hidden from our sight. The rains at this season are usually light; they are called the "Copper wood" rains, because they fall at that period of the year when the wood is cut for fuel for the coppers of the boiling house. Sugar crop begins with the new year. We reached the Moneague tavern by ten o'clock, which became our head quarters for a few days, in order to visit the churches in the vicinity. Mrs. Underhill, however, proceeded the same day to Calabar.

CHAPTER IV.

The Moneague—The Market—Mount Nebo—The Church—Labourers and Planters—Coultart Grove—New Clearings—Brown's Town—Schools at Buxton and Harmony—Calabar Institution—Its Origin—The Tutors—The Normal School—The Examination—The Native Ministry.

THE village of Moneague lies on the northern side of the mountains, which, running from east to west, divide the island into two well-defined sections. It is the centre of considerable traffic; has its stores, blacksmith's shop, a very comfortable hotel, and a market on the Saturday of every week. This is held in an open space in the centre of the village.

After breakfast we took a stroll among the people, threading our way among the yams spread out for sale upon the ground, inspecting the fruit, and asking questions. Besides abundance of bread-kind, we found exposed for sale—coffee, sugar in the wet state, the molasses not drained away, bread, beef, salt and fresh, salt fish, all in considerable quantities. Two or three Madras women, clad in their native costume, and adorned with an array of silver armlets and anklets, had laid out for buyers, cotton thread, buttons, laces, and small articles of housewifery. The butchers, of whom there were four or five, and one baker, alone

had stalls; the ground was the counter of the rest. A small basin-full of sugar, nearly two pounds in weight, was sold for threepence. The coffee, in a green state, was sold by measure, at sixpence a quart. Beef was sixpence a pound.

We chatted for some time with a baker, having a large board piled with good white bread before him, and whose story of his life was interesting. It was afterwards confirmed to us from other sources. He was born in slavery; but became free at emancipation, when still a lad. He obtained various kinds of employment, and put himself to school, first at the Mico Charity, and then at the Wesleyan Mission School. When his money was spent, he would leave school for a time, replenish his empty pocket by labour, and return again to his books. He is now able to read and write well, or, as he said, to read the newspapers, and know what is going on in the island and in the world. He can keep accounts. He has saved money, bought twelve acres of land, for which he paid £7 an acre, and cultivates coffee and pimento. He has taught himself to work as a carpenter, and adds to his means by baking. He is a member of the Baptist church at Ocho Rios, and said he would rather work day and night than return to slavery.

As a number of persons had gathered round us, we began to ask questions about their willingness to work. We told them that we had heard in England that they were idle; that they were content to lie all day under the shade of the mango tree, and to suck its luscious

fruit; that, in fact, only the whip would make them work. They became very excited, and for a time we could hardly be heard. They loudly complained of the treatment they experienced. One man affirmed that he had been working for three months, and as yet had received only three shillings. A woman said 9*d.* a day was not enough; while the men said there were more labourers than could be employed. A foreman of the people engaged on the repair of the roads said the same; that very week he had refused thirty persons who had applied for work; but then road mending was paid better than estates' work. Said one shrewdly, if they had bought land, as most of them had, where could the money to purchase it have come from, if they had not worked for it? At length the noise and vociferation became so great, that we were glad to tell them that we thought better of their industry, and were happy to see them so well dressed and prosperous. This appeased the rising storm, and they turned away, laughing merrily.

As we watched them retiring from the market, we were astonished at the loads which the women bore away upon their heads. One load which I weighted, carried by a young woman, must have been quite half a hundred weight. The market resounded throughout the day with chaffering and laughter; but we saw no disorder nor drunkenness, although two or three rum shops were at hand.

Arrangements had been made for us to spend the Lord's-day with the Churches of two native brethren.

Accordingly my fellow-traveller, after dinner, started for Coultart Grove, while, with a guide, I made my way to Mount Nebo, some thirteen miles to the eastward of the Moneague. At the distance of a mile and a half I passed the Wesleyan station of Watsonville, consisting of a neat chapel, school, and teachers' houses. It is under the charge of the school-master, the minister residing at Guy's Hill, near Mount Nebo. Winding along a gradually rising path, and often passing by neat cottages and the plantations of the peasantry, the road at length plunged into a labyrinth of hills. It circled from hill to hill, the sides of which were everywhere thickly planted with pimento trees to the very top. Some trees appeared inaccessible, so precipitous were the rocks; yet in every crevice, and on every ledge, they found soil to root in. For five or six miles, the road swept along and around these pimento walks. Nearly the whole are the property of black people, who have purchased the land and settled here since emancipation. Near the highest point, I came upon a small settlement of Scotch people—immigrants induced to come a few years ago, to supply the asserted want of labourers. They were lamentably disappointed, if not deceived. Many died; a few returned home; the remainder get a precarious living by the cultivation of maize, and other ground provisions. For estates' labour, they have been found useless. As rain had fallen on the mountains, the last part of the ride was very muddy. Night fell long before I reached the cottage of our native brother, the pastor of this mountain

church, but the darkness soon flitted away before the splendour of the rising moon.

This was the first church I visited under the care of a native pastor. The chapel stands on the brow of a lofty eminence, which commands a very extensive view of the vale below, and of the mountains which shut it in. It is built of stone, and will hold five hundred persons. The flooring is incomplete, one half only being at present boarded. On Lord's-day, the congregation varies from one to five hundred, the largest usually assembling at the monthly communion. The minister was educated at the Calabar Institution. Difficulties, both personal and relative, at first hindered his success; but during the last year, he had added sixty persons to the Church, mostly from among the young. The Church is divided into eight classes, under the charge of three deacons and ten leaders. They meet once on Sunday, and three times in the week. The attendance at class is best on the Sunday and Monday. Of the leaders two are unable to read. Here the complaint was repeated which we had heard elsewhere, that the young are not so attentive to religion as they should be; they are not so liberal, and spend too much money on dress. The discipline of the Church is carefully maintained, and the leaders thought that the sin of fornication was decreasing among the people. There can be no doubt that the discipline of the mission churches exercises a very salutary influence in this respect, not only among professing Christians, but on society generally. It educates the conscience of the

people with respect to the vices to which it is applied, and generally they submit to it without resentment. As the exercise of discipline lies much in the hands of the deacons and leaders, the minister is not exposed to any special obloquy in carrying out the decisions of the Church.

A considerable effort is required to raise the salary of the pastor, which is done without assistance from any quarter. More difficulty is experienced in supporting the schoolmaster. The children's pence are not enough, and the funds of the church are too low to bear this additional burden. While discussing it, one of the deacons spoke to this effect. The Government was continually imposing taxes on them, making them pay for horses, carts, and houses; and he wished to know why they should not obtain some return in the way of assistance for their school. The Wesleyans, close by, obtained it; and why not they? Their minister said it was wrong to take money from the Government for such a purpose; but he could not understand how it was wrong. This difficulty presses very heavily on the native pastors. Their European brethren obtain assistance from friends in England; but they are unknown, and this resource is scarcely open to them. The island possesses but few benevolent persons to whom application can be made; so that their difficulties are great, while the necessities of the case are very urgent.

Although the day began with rain, a large congregation assembled in the intervals of its cessation. Before the close of the service, the rain recommenced, so that I

was induced to prolong it. With three or four exceptions, the Scotch immigrants before mentioned, the congregation consisted entirely of coloured and black people. Their singing, if not very harmonious, was at least hearty, and their attention unfailing. It was not a little amusing to watch them depart amid the downpour, for all hope of the rain holding up ceased as the afternoon advanced. Some changed their dress. All who had them, took off their shoes and stockings. The women tucked up their dresses almost to their knees, and with a clatter of tongues, merry remarks, and now and then snatches of hymns, they hurried away.

All night the rain came down, frequently waking me with its patter on the shingled roof. The outlook was dreary enough when I rose; yet amid the rain some sparkling humming birds, with emerald wings and sapphire breast, sought their morning's meal from the honey cup of the scarlet hibiscus, which grew profusely beneath the windows and in the hedge. About ten o'clock the clouds lifted, and the blue of heaven began to appear. My horse was soon saddled, and as the sun burst forth, with one of the deacons as my guide, I set out on my return. The ride, though muddy enough, was a pleasant one among the pimento groves, and we reached the Moneague about half-past one.

The estates in this neighbourhood are mostly cattle penns, or breeding farms; and as few fences are put up by the proprietors, the cattle trespass a good deal on the provision grounds of the peasantry. They say, that if their horses trespass they are impounded, and heavy

fines are inflicted; but for the injury done to their crops by the estates' cattle they obtain no redress. One planter complained to me that the people hamstrung his cattle. To my inquiries they replied that it was true; but it was not done until their patience had been exhausted, and their remonstrances despised. Few of the people in this quarter seek employment on the estates, especially where their own land, with the pimento crop and its harvesting, affords them a fair livelihood. Even Coolies are influenced by the example of the Creoles; they leave the estates as soon as they can obtain land, or open shops, and abandon sugar cultivation. An estate has recently been thrown up, owing to the death of the owner. He died in debt. To my question why they worked at all for men who treated them harshly, and paid them badly, they replied—those who have only a small piece of land are obliged to work on the estates, and as there are many in that condition, the bad as well as the good planters get supplied with labour. Much money cannot now be saved, as all articles of food and clothing, which come from abroad, are dearer, and the people are becoming more and more habituated to the use of imported goods. It seems that land is never parted with by the people except in cases of extreme urgency. After frequent inquiries I could not hear of a single instance of a small freehold being sold for debt. One of my informants, a man of years and experience, said he had never heard of such a thing as a black man being obliged to sell his land. Crops and furniture may have been seized; but the land has remained in the possession of

its owner. Land is eagerly sought after, and the black people especially are always striving to increase the quantity they possess. Some have so much that they have become employers of labour. They pay the same wages as the planter; but usually food is given in addition, so that the remuneration is actually greater. When discussing the question of wages, I was asked not unfrequently why it was that when they were slaves the planter hired them at 2*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* a day; but now that they are free the same men will give them not more than 9*d.* or 1*s.* a day?

Land in this district seems to be increasing in value. It ranges in price from £5 to £10 an acre. No labourer likes to live on the estates; nor will he do so unless necessity constrains it, for fear of being turned off when any dispute arises, and the whole of his ground provisions be forfeited. Service must be rendered to the planters on whose land he resides; he dare not choose any other master. The rent paid for provision grounds is twenty shillings an acre; land is rented only for provisions. The people plant their own land with sugar cane, or cultivate coffee upon it, or other exportable articles; for proprietors of estates will not let land for these purposes. The people would get on a great deal better, said one, if they were not plagued with taxes, tolls on the roads, and hard dealing, and were not fraudulently treated by the purchasers of their produce.

It may be questioned whether this withdrawal from the estates, and the great increase of cottier cultivation, is conducive to the general welfare of the island. Doubt-

less, at present, the people obtain a fair and comfortable livelihood; but they cannot cultivate to advantage those products which require skill in management, and large capital to work profitably. In some quarters, planters are endeavouring to correct this tendency by refusing to sell land, and by letting it to those only who will work for them; but this is ineffectual. So great is the quantity of uncultivated land, especially in the mountains, and so numerous are the properties which the poverty of proprietors or other causes bring into the market, that land can always be bought; and every effort to retain the people on the estates by such measures, only ends in driving them further away. The planters do not care for the labourers beyond the immediate purpose of the hour, and the labourers retaliate by not caring for them.

We found that the Church at the Moneague had divided into two sections, one part adhering to a native minister who had been charged with superstitious practices, the other continuing under the charge of the pastor of Mount Nebo. The latter party retained the chapel in their hands; but it stands greatly in need of repair. We endeavoured to open the way for a reunion, but I fear without much success.

We resumed our journey to Brown's Town the next day, passing Beechamville, a station of the Wesleyan mission, having a large chapel that will hold 1500 persons. We turned off the main road, for a brief visit to Coultart Grove. Our horses were exceedingly wearied with the seven miles of road under process

of repair, and we were glad to give them rest at the hamlet, called The Finger Post. A short ride of two miles, on horses supplied by our estimable native minister, Mr. O'Meally, through a very picturesque variety of hill and dale, cottage and plantation, brought us to his station. But few of the residents of this settlement are attendants on Mr. O'Meally's ministrations. His people live still further off, near Pedro River, from seven to twelve miles to the south of Coultart Grove. The chapel was built here to save them a still longer walk to St. Ann's Bay, of which Church they were originally members. For some time it was supplied by the minister of St. Ann's Bay, the demands on whose time necessarily occasioned irregularity in the services. This station was therefore separated from the parent church, and placed under its own minister. It is, however, very inconvenient both to the minister and people that the bulk of them live so far away, and there appears to be a strong desire that the minister should remove to the settlement of Walton, to be in the midst of his people. Probably, in time, this will have to be done; but in the present migratory state of the population, it is difficult to decide. The proprietor of the land about Coultart Grove will not sell an inch, either to the people or to the congregation. They are thus driven away to procure land. Hence it is scarcely possible to guess around what place the people will finally gather, or where important towns may spring up. For some years to come, the difficulty this gives rise to in their

spiritual guidance and instruction, will be very considerable.

The people are penetrating on every side into the mountains, and seizing the most cultivable spots. Thus, in a wild part of our mountain drive, between Coultart Grove and Brown's Town, we came upon a number of new settlers. One, a tall stalwart man, told us that this region was being rapidly occupied by the peasantry. They clear the bush, plant coffee and pimento, and grow the usual ground provisions. He said that work on estates was difficult to obtain. Many of them frequently went on a Monday to seek work, but could not get it, and lost a day into the bargain. Great numbers, he added, must work on the estates for a living, for they do not possess any land. A few miles away, in a place he mentioned, many were starving for want of employment, there being little or none on the estates just then, crop not having begun.

Night fell before we emerged from these mountain solitudes; but the darkness was lit up by innumerable fire flies, flitting around us, leaping from bough to bough, and by their light illuminating the dark interior of the woods. We were a little anxious, from our ignorance of the way, and the known precipitous nature of the road; but we were safely preserved by a kind Providence, and soon forgot our perils in the hearty welcome we received from our dear friends, the Rev. John Clark and his family.

As we were hastening to the annual examination of the Calabar Institution, we staid but one day at Brown's

Town. It was occupied in visiting and examining two day schools. One, at Buxton, is sustained chiefly by the liberal gifts of the Society of Friends. The other, at Harmony, is kept by a deformed black man, under the auspices of Mr. Clark, the teacher receiving a somewhat meagre support from the fees of the children. His scholars were not so advanced as those at Buxton, yet they had made fair progress. This black schoolmaster, notwithstanding the drawback of his infirmities, is a thorough student, and is gradually acquiring, unaided, a good knowledge of Latin and mathematics.

The road to these schools led us through pimento walks, and by plots of land under cultivation. Nearly all the cultivable spots in the vales are in the hands of the peasantry. Sugar is not much cultivated in this district; the large properties are chiefly laid down in grazing farms or cattle penns. The schoolmasters complained of the irregularity of the attendance of the children. Their parents employ them first in gathering in the pimento, and then in picking the coffee crop; so that from the time the pimento harvest begins, until after Christmas, their attendance is both interrupted and often discontinued.

Buxton school is situated on the top of a hill, the centre peak of a high range of hills covered with pimento walks, while the valleys between are occupied with the gardens and grounds of the settlers. The school is held in a building once devoted to the reception and storage of pimento, the large barbecues on which it was dried still remaining. It was the property

once of a person who is reputed to have been excessively cruel to his slaves. The old and infirm who could no longer work, he burnt to death on this spot; until the horror of the crime aroused the occupiers of surrounding properties, who interfered and put a stop to this dreadful holocaust to the demon of slavery.

Buxton is one of the independent townships formed shortly after emancipation. More than twenty similar settlements were established around Brown's Town, on which fifteen or sixteen hundred families, three fourths of the enfranchised population of the district, were located. The land cost from £3 to £12 an acre, according to situation and productiveness. Each freehold generally consists of from three to five acres. In some instances the field plots are distant or apart from the villages, where small building plots with gardens only were laid out; in others the cottages are erected on the separate freeholds. These villages, built on the slopes of the hills, or in the verdant hollows between them, interspersed with bananas and plaintains, shaded by mango, orange, and bread-fruit trees, give an animated appearance to the country, and the appearance of an active and prosperous peasantry. It is supposed that one half the coffee and nearly the whole of the pimento now exported,* are the produce of the settlements of the

* The export of pimento has undergone a considerable increase since emancipation.

In 1828 were exported		3,762,780 lbs.
,, 1838	,,	2,708,640 ,,
,, 1848	,,	5,231,908 ,,
,, 1858	,,	9,465,261 ,,

peasantry. At Buxton, Mr. Clark retains about twenty-five acres, and the pimento they produce contributes sometimes £25 a year towards the maintenance of the school. The school-house is also used as a class house, and a service is often held in it during the week, by the pastor from Brown's Town, from which place it is distant about five miles.

With a very intelligent deacon residing here, and father of one of the native pastors, I had some interesting conversation. He said that he had never known a settler sell his land from poverty or debt. Land changes hands: sometimes through the death of the owner, or by sale in order to purchase elsewhere. But every one is anxious to possess land, and makes great exertions to keep it. Young women will refuse to marry an admirer who has no land. Those who have land enough, rarely or never go to the estates to work. A man with eight or twelve acres, is obliged to hire assistance at certain seasons; the same wages are paid as on estates, and sometimes food is given in addition. The consumption of sugar and coffee has largely increased since slavery, when the people had but scant enjoyment of them. Thus two men, with whom I conversed, one having a family of seven persons, the other of four, said that the average consumption of each family would be one pound and a half of raw coffee a week, and four or five pounds of sugar. The cost of gathering in, drying and packing the pimento crop, ranges from three farthings to three half-pence a pound. The price given this year by the merchants was one penny three farthings

a pound, so that the profit was very small. This low price was owing to a very large crop the previous year.

It is clear that if the people have withdrawn, or been driven, from estates' labour, they have not idly spent their time. The purchase of their freeholds, the erection of houses, and the profitable cultivation of land, are the fruit of much toil, and are productive of no small amount of independence, contentment, and material prosperity. There has been no deterioration of character or condition. While in social habits, in intelligence, and in piety, there has been a great advance since they emerged from bondage.

On Friday, December 16th, we pursued our journey to Calabar, calling on our way on the Rev. T. Lea, at Stewart Town. We passed through several sugar estates, among them Nightingale Grove and Arcadia, the latter the property of the late W. Alers Hankey, Esq. These estates are under good management. The cane fields looked in fine condition, their produce awaiting the speedy "putting about" of the mills to be compressed, and their juice manufactured into sugar.

Our stay at Calabar lasted over a week, being fully occupied with the annual examination; we also enjoyed the pleasure of conference with several brethren, both Europeans and natives, and made arrangements for subsequent journeys, and for a general meeting at Montego Bay early in the month of March.

The Calabar Theological Institution originated with the Rev. William Knibb, and sprang out of his noble idea of evangelizing Africa by the agency of the freed

men of the West Indies. In connection with this movement, which appealed so powerfully to the gratitude and religious feelings of the enfranchised people of Jamaica, in 1840, within two years of emancipation, six pious men were undergoing some degree of preparatory instruction, under the care of the Rev. Joshua Tinson, in Kingston. But not less needful was it to anticipate the pastoral wants of the rapidly increasing churches of Jamaica. A large increase of the number of missionaries was rendered necessary by the great additions to the churches in the first years of freedom, and this, through the urgent appeal of Mr. Knibb, during his visit to England, in 1840, was obtained. This source of supply was, however, closed, when the mission churches declared themselves independent of the funds of the Missionary Society. The Missionary Committee from that time sent out no more ministers from England, and the churches were constrained to resort to various methods to fill up the ranks which time inevitably thinned. Several of the English schoolmasters became pastors; but this source of supply was soon exhausted. At the same time a decided opinion had gained ground in England that resort should be had to a native, indigenous ministry, and that every effort should be made to render the supply of such pastors as effective and speedy as possible.* As events unfolded, the original

* The Report of the Calabar Committee for 1847 makes the remark, that "to obtain a supply of pastors from England is obviously impossible;" the duty was therefore imperative of looking out for intelligent and pious young men in the island for the work of the ministry.

idea was enlarged, and the Institution was founded for the twofold purpose of raising missionaries for Africa, and pastors for Jamaica. In the result the latter object has become the most prominent, and has been accomplished; but the former yet awaits fulfilment, only one student having as yet devoted himself to missionary labour in Africa.

The task of making the necessary arrangements was confided to Mr. Knibb. On his recommendation the present premises were purchased,* and on the 6th October, 1843. the Institution was opened, with six students, under the presidency of the late Rev. Joshua Tinson. The experience of the Institution has afforded a striking illustration of the low mental condition to which slavery reduced the population. True, genuine piety is not wanting; but among the thousands of members in the churches, very few have been found qualified to undergo the moderate test which admission requires, or to prosecute successfully the course of instruction prescribed. Even among the free coloured population, so defective and partial was their education, not many were eligible for the office of clerk, or book-keeper. It had been the policy of the planters to shut out even the class having their own blood running in its veins, from the advantages of education. As for slaves, they could be instructed only by stealth, or in the Sunday school. Not one

* The purchase money was provided by the Missionary Committee from the Jubilee Fund.

in five hundred could read. Hence Jamaica has not hitherto presented any number of even moderately educated men, from whom persons could be selected for the ministry. Such a class is only now beginning to appear, through the influence of the numerous schools which have been with more or less difficulty maintained since emancipation. It is often forgotten that the gospel, while it purifies and forms the moral character, does not transform the illiterate into scholars, nor give to the narrow intellect increased power, nor necessarily impart a capacity for public teaching. In Jamaica there are no accumulations of knowledge; each generation has succeeded to the degradation, to the low moral and mental habitudes, of previous generations. The people were kept in ignorance, ignorance so unbroken that from its effects men could argue the absence of mind altogether, and affirm that the negro was nothing better than an animal, with some approximations only to the humam being. Exceptions of course could be quoted, but not so numerous as to break the dead level of mental inferiority which everywhere prevailed, or to form a class of intelligent men, by whom the masses of the people could be raised or improved.* Education in art, or

* I cannot deprive myself of the pleasure of quoting the corroborative language of my esteemed friend, the Rev. C. M. Birrell, who visited the island in 1847. "Never till I reached the spot, had I a just appreciation of the difficulties in the way; never till then did I so clearly perceive the extent to which the education of the people in civilized countries has been carried on in the persons of their ancestors, the extent to which qualities, which we deem natural and innate, are the result of subtle influences in society, the operations of which we cannot detect, and of which we cannot tell 'whence they come, or whither they go.' Of all

in science, has not even yet begun. Jamaica had no depositaries or fountains of learning, no academies for the black. Emancipation was the starting point for the negro, and it were a surprising thing indeed if in less than a quarter of century the bondmen of generations had acquired the intelligence and mental activity of the white, whose intellectual parentage dates back for centuries.

Hence the instruction given in the Institution, especially in the early years of its existence, was of a very elementary sort. The miserable patois of the slave had to be exchanged for euphonious and grammatical English. The powers of thought, dormant for ages, had to be awakened as well as knowledge to be acquired. Studies fitted to prepare the students for the ministry of the word of God, had of course the chief attention; but the tutor, also, with great wisdom, imparted the elements of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, as well to discipline the mind and to increase the power of expression, as to enable them to read God's truth in the tongues in which it was conveyed to men.

Until his death, on the 2nd December, 1850, the Institution continued in the charge of Mr. Tinson.*

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these hereditary advantages, the people of those lands are destitute. The entire population stands intellectually at Zero. Every man must rise in his own person from that point. Until the standard of education be raised universally, there will always be great obstacles in the way of a highly qualified race of native pastors. Yet a beginning has been made, and well made."

* Mr. Tinson lies interred in the picturesque cemetery behind and belonging to the Institution, his tomb, with that of the deceased wife of the present tutor, overshadowed with the fragrant foliage of a large pimento tree.

It had been his successful endeavour to plant a seminary for training young men of African origin expressly for the work of the ministry. It was the first attempt of the kind in Jamaica. Amid many prophecies of failure, he had the pleasure of seeing nine native born men, some of whom had been slaves, take the position of pastors over churches, and several of them remain to this day the ministers of the congregations where they first settled, and which have continued to prosper under their ministrations. Thus Mr. Smith became pastor of Mount Angus church in 1843; Mr. Johnson, of Clarksonville, in 1844; Mr. E. Palmer, of Kingston, in 1846; Mr. Fray, of Refuge, in 1847; Mr. Dalling, of Stacey Ville, in 1848; where they still labour.

The present highly valued tutor of the Institution, the Rev. D. J. East, assumed the office in January, 1852. He has devoted himself to the work with a zeal, an energy, and a wise perception of the true wants of Jamaica, which have received their reward in the efficiency to which the Institution has attained, and its increasing value to the elevation of the race which it is the devoted aim of his life to benefit. He soon perceived the great importance of an improved education for the masses of the people. The black and coloured races were far from having attained the same degree of civilization as the European. No middle or monied class existed to render a superior education either a desired or a possible thing. Sufficient time had not elapsed for this result; but the germ of it was there, in

the new townships, in the eager acquisition of land, in the growth of artificial wants, in the desire for improved dwellings and dress. To quote the words of Mr. East, writing in 1853: "The people are ambitious of rising in the world." Everything impressed his mind with the vast importance of education to the future welfare of the people. Hence he proposed to the committee of the Missionary Society the addition of a Normal School Department to the Institution, and subsequently the reception of lay students to its advantages. Of the first object there were found warm supporters in the Society of Friends in this country, and with their assistance, an attempt was made to carry on a Normal School—which, while availing itself of the Institution and of the superintendence of its tutor, was to be independent of all denominational influence, and be conducted by a gentleman sent from England for the purpose.

Such an effort was indeed required by the necessity of multiplying day-schools, and consequently schoolmasters, in order to meet the educational wants of the people, who are becoming more and more scattered on the mountains, and therefore distant from the centres of missionary and educational influence. But to find schoolmasters the same difficulty was experienced, though in a somewhat less degree, as in obtaining fit men for the ministry. Piety might be present, but not fitness to teach even the most elementary parts of knowledge. Calabar offered a suitable locality for such an institution: the district is populous, and schools are few. The requisite buildings could be adapted or provided at a

small cost; a large library had been collected; and economy could be secured in the domestic management. The attempt was made, and not without success; but circumstances arose to disturb the independent arrangement, and in 1859 the Normal School was merged into the general objects of the Institution. A temporary arrangement was made by the Missionary Committee with the Calabar Committee, pending the visit of the deputation, which has resulted, on their report, in the permanent adoption of a Normal School Department as a portion of the work of the Institution; and the sum of £150 a-year is granted towards the support of the tutor.

At the time of our arrival, both the Theological and Normal School Departments were in full operation. Several lay students were also receiving a general education. One native teacher only, who had been educated in the Institution, assisted Mr. East, and enabled him to endure the exhausting toil which these manifold labours entailed. Provision had been made for the board and lodging of all the students within the Institution. This had involved an extension of the College buildings. A new school-room, capable of accommodating about one hundred and twenty children, had been built for the Normal Day School; which before, at great inconvenience, had been conducted in the chapel at Rio Bueno, a mile-and-a-half away. This had been accomplished partly from contributions obtained by the President when in England in the previous year, but chiefly from his own personal resources. Buildings, comprising a commodious class-room, and

nine studies and sleeping rooms, had been fitted up; and a dining-hall, with two bedrooms over it, erected—in addition to the commodious house and set of studies fitted up by the previous tutor—from funds, chiefly English contributions, independent of the current income, and leaving only a small balance to be provided for.*

During the session, the studies of which occupied us two very long days in examining, there had been eighteen young men and youths under instruction—viz.: five theological students, seven normal school students, and six lay pupils; and an average attendance of between seventy and eighty children in the Normal Day School. The lay students had pursued an elementary course in English Grammar, History, Geography, and Arithmetic. The studies of the Normal School students were of a more advanced kind, and included the elements of Latin and Greek, besides a weekly object lesson, afterwards given by them to the children of the day-school. The studies of the Theological students embraced English Grammar, English History, Church History, Mental Analysis, the Bible Handbook, and the Tutor's lectures on Doctrinal Theology. Essays and a sermon were written every week for criticism in class. The examination was a very gratifying one: gratifying, if regarded only as a proof of actual attainments in knowledge, with skill in the use of it, and as evincing considerable power of thought. True, their attainments were not profound—were, in fact, moderate and elementary;

* The total cost was £350 15*s.* 3*d.*; the balance to be paid, £47.

still there was the display of good capacity, of certain mental force, quickness of conception and memory, and for the short time during which the students had enjoyed the advantages of the Institution, a progress of the most satisfactory kind. Only in Geometry was there an approach to failure. Perhaps it yet remains to be proved that the negro race possesses a good capacity for the higher abstractions of reasoning and calculation. The term of four years seemed to us too short to surmount the deficiencies arising from the want of early training, and to secure both a greater breadth of acquirements, and the formation of habits of steady mental labour and active thought. We thought it our duty to urge an extension of the time to six years, and in this recommendation we are happy to have the concurrence of the Mission Committee, and of the brethren who conduct the affairs of the Institution.

Since the commencement, in 1843, thirty-one individuals, including those in the house at the time of our visit, have enjoyed the advantages of theological instruction. Of these, five have died; one has been expelled; thirteen are pastors of churches; one is a missionary in Western Africa; and six are engaged as teachers or assistant preachers. Since our departure, three of the five students have entered upon pastoral engagements.

The experiment of raising up an indigenous ministry, is a highly encouraging one. Notwithstanding the difficulties already alluded to, a number of young men have been found and educated, to replace the vacancies

occasioned by the death, or departure of European ministers. More pastors are certainly, nay, urgently, required, and the supply is not equal to the requirement; but every year will diminish this difficulty, and bring to the Institution men of a higher stamp. Already an improvement is apparent. All agree that the students of later years come better prepared for the studies of the place, and that the standard of ability and attainment is gradually rising. Meanwhile we have examples of native-born men, both black and coloured, fulfilling the duties of the pastorate with credit to themselves and with advantage to the churches. If, at present, the spheres they occupy are of secondary importance, their labours as evangelists, and as pastors of flocks, are sufficiently successful to leave no doubt as to the wisdom of the plan, and the practicability of securing a body of native ministers well adapted for the service of the house of the Lord. If, in some instances, there is apparent a want of ability to control the turbulent elements which will show themselves in voluntary assemblies; if, here and there, we had brought to our notice some instance of imprudence, or some exhibition of vanity and bad taste, our personal intercourse with the native pastors often impressed us with their good sense; while the esteem in which they are held by their people, and the generally adequate salaries they obtain, show that their labours are appreciated by those for whom they toil. From the absence of intellectual society in their congregations, the difficulty and cost of obtaining books, and the distance of the stations from each other, rendering intercourse

with their fellow ministers both costly and unfrequent, there is danger of mental inactivity, and the decay of those habits of continuous study which were acquired in college. To remedy this, the deputation suggested, that the tutor should pay them as frequent visits during the vacation as circumstances would permit. He might thus, in some measure, continue to direct their studies, and render them important advice and aid in the discharge of their pastoral duties. This suggestion was most cordially welcomed by the native brethren, and it has met the approval of all the parties interested.

It was the more gratifying to observe the large measure of success which has attended this attempt to raise an indigenous ministry, inasmuch as it was not only the first effort of the kind made in the island, but also because I was very early after my arrival assured by some estimable persons, both lay and clerical, that to place the churches under the government and teaching of black men would be productive of manifold evils; and instances were related to me within their knowledge where such had been the vanity, the ridiculous assumptions, the extravagance and the instability of native ministers, that confidence in their usefulness, and in their fitness for an employment so grave and responsible was utterly destroyed. I well remember, in one instance, a gentleman of the highest respectability taking me aside and very seriously remonstrating with me for the course the Baptist Missionary Society has taken in this matter. Not that every native minister had failed in other denominations; the Wesleyans, the Independents, the

Presbyterians, each possesses one or two specimens of native ministers who are examples of fervent piety and ministerial ability. But these, I was told, were exceptions, and their employment must therefore be exceptional.

Nothing, however, that I heard or saw has given me the slightest sympathy with this view. It is not necessary for me to show, even if it were true, that our native ministers are equal in attainment or ability to their English-educated and academically trained brethren. It is sufficient that they creditably and successfully discharge the duties incumbent on them as the pastors of the churches and congregations they serve. I could not but observe that the most important objections originate in circumstances traceable to the ecclesiastical system, or religious organization of the parties in question. The native pastors of Baptist churches, while recognized and received as of equal ministerial status with their European brethren, are nevertheless the choice of their people, and dependent on their liberality for support. Not so in the Establishment, nor in the ecclesiastical arrangements of other denominations in the island. By these, native ministers are ordained, and by ordination become entitled to the same ecclesiastical rank as their white brethren; but they are placed on some missionary fund, or are salaried, without reference to the choice or the good pleasure of the people they are to serve. The mutual obligations which ought to subsist between a pastor and his people, are not formed; the pastor is not made to feel

that his success depends under God's blessing on his own exertions, and that his position can only be secured by good conduct, devotedness to the service of his Lord, and a constant regard to the wellbeing of his flock. Sometimes he is pampered by a salary that lifts him above the condition of his people; or he is encouraged to extravagance by the certainty that others will be responsible for the debts he may incur. It is in my judgment a very essential element in the preparation and success of a native ministry, that the pastor should look to those whom he has to benefit for the support he needs. Neglect of this principle has led to many failures in Jamaica, and in other parts of the missionary field.

The Baptist churches of Jamaica are fully alive to the value of the Calabar Institution. Hitherto no difficulty has been experienced in obtaining from them the cost of the board of the students, both in the Theological and Normal School departments; nearly every church in the island contributes to the funds. As already intimated, the Society in England, in accordance with the arrangement made in 1845, provides the salary of the tutor, and now allows a further sum of £150 per annum towards the support of the tutor of the Normal School.* In vigorously sustaining this seminary for training ministers and schoolmasters, the Missionary

* Since our return the Committee have engaged for this department the services of Mr. Alexander Gunning. He reached Jamaica early in the present year.

Society is taking the most efficient means in its power to foster the work begun at emancipation, and to provide for the future wellbeing and elevation of the people of Jamaica. A sound scriptural education is the one great want of the enfranchised population of this beautiful land.

CHAPTER V.

Salem Chapel—The Association of St. Ann's—State of the Churches—St. Ann's Bay—Formation of the Church—Its Condition—Its Discipline—Attendance at Public Worship—Religious Belief and Practice—Condition of the People—Labour and Labourers—Enjoyment of Freedom—Diminution of Wages and its Effects—The Planters—Their Treatment of the People—Immigration—Increase of Consumption of Sugar and Coffee—Visit to an Estate—Causes of Prosperity—Effect of the Revolution in San Domingo—Day and Task Work—The Storekeeper—Crime in St. Ann's—St. Ann's Bay—Roaring River—The Cataract.

A FEW days after the close of the examinations at Calabar, Mrs. Underhill and myself set out for Salem a station on the road to St. Ann's Bay, in charge of a native minister, the Rev. J. G. Bennett. The half-yearly meeting of the pastors, deacons, and delegates of the Baptist Churches of the parish of St. Ann's was appointed for this place, and would afford a very convenient opportunity for conference and inquiry. Here also we had agreed to rejoin my colleague, Mr. Brown, who had been spending a few days with the pastors and churches at Stewart Town and Brown's Town.

Descending from the elevation on which the Institution is beautifully placed, we crossed the Rio Bueno by a difficult ford, near the spot where a bridge had been some time before torn down by a flood. Along the river side lay the canefields of a sugar estate, and on

the sides of the hills, the cottages of the people, shrouded in groves of bananas, or surrounded by their pimento walks, peeped forth; sometimes built of mud and thatched with grass, at others erected of more substantial materials, with neat verandahs, and jalousies closing the windows. For some distance we climbed and wound about the hills, then, descending to the sea-shore, we passed through the small town of Dry Harbour, where there is an excellent chapel of the London Mission, occupied by the Rev. Mr. Milne. Here is also a temporary booth, in which a portion of one of the congregations of Mr. Bennett is wont to meet.

Leaving Dry Harbour the road ran by the sea-side, for the most part among mangrove trees and across swampy ground. A shower of rain fell as we approached Salem, where the people were returning from the scene of the baptism of twenty-two persons in the sea, belonging to the Church at Brown's Town, nine miles distant. The chapel at Salem stands on the road-side in a large square plot of land, and by its side is a small house of two rooms for the use of the minister. By eleven o'clock the pastors, deacons, and delegates of the associated Churches were met. The heavy rains of the previous night had prevented the attendance of the representatives of one Church, and also lessened the attendance of others. On calling the roll, however, there were found to be present five pastors, forty-eight male and nine female delegates. In addition to the ordinary business of the session, the presence of the

deputation led to the discussion of various subjects. I will give, as nearly as possible, the words of the delegates, when presenting their reports of the Churches, and their opinions on the topics proposed for consideration.

CLARKSONVILLE. Rev. F. Johnson, native pastor. Number of members, 224. Backsliders do not return to the Church in such numbers as is to be desired. The young people attend chapel very well; but do not join the Church. The attendance at the Sunday School is "delightful."

BETHANY. Rev. John Clark, European pastor. Number of members, 420. The Church is weak; but there is something to cheer us. The congregations are very good, if minister is there, and it is not wet. The Sunday School is not well attended; some of the teachers are not regular; but some classes go on well. There are a few candidates for fellowship. People "need to have a full desire and love to God, and so will not join on." A few backsliders are on trial: they attend both chapel and class very well. When minister is not there, many are not there. People will go to a funeral in great numbers.

BROWN'S TOWN. Rev. John Clark, pastor. Number of members, 832. The officers are at peace, and labouring for souls. The deacons appointed to visit the classes have been well received. A great number of young people have come forward; many have been baptized, and there are more to come. Visits are paid

to backsliders; but they have no "feeling;" yet they attend chapel. Some attend the "Penitents' class," which meets on Sunday in the chapel with the minister. The people are very grateful for the gospel. When the minister is not present, a prayer meeting is usually held. The classes are well attended, and the leaders go about stirring up the people. Slack members are visited first from the class, and then, if needful, from the Church.

DRY HARBOUR. Rev. J. G. Bennett, native pastor. Number of members, 160. The attendance is not so good as we wish. When minister is with us, the congregations are good; but not very good when he is away. There are a few candidates for baptism. Backsliders do not come forward as we wish. There is no Sunday School at present. Attendance at class sometimes very good; but not often. (We afterwards found that much of the non-attendance was owing to a difference of opinion in the Church as to the locality for a new chapel, a considerable number of the members living at some distance from Dry Harbour, and having a meeting in their own settlement.)

SALEM. Rev. J. G. Bennett, pastor. Number of members, 249. The deacons thank God for what is done The congregation is never thin, except on wet days, even when minister is not there. Young people crowd the place. The minister, officers, and members are all in peace. Some excluded members are very "hard;" but "we are always talking to them and

coaxing them, that they may not lose their souls." (Coaxing was explained to mean invitation and entreaty.) The Sunday School is not so good as we wish it to be. "One hand we feel to be a little shaky," as the school is not well attended. But the Lord is still working with us. If we meet backsliders on the road, we stop and talk with them; we don't mind all their hard words. Men will go with soft speaking; not with driving. We urge them; not to increase the Church, but to save their souls. "No use to get a hundred and fifty bad people into the Church." We are very particular in admitting backsliders again. People come late to chapel sometimes; they live far away. Attendance on the classes is slack. They meet twice a week, as well as on Sunday. The minister has one prayer meeting in the week besides, in the chapel. People are expected to come; but some live seven miles away. Minister meets "Penitent class" every other Friday.

GIBRALTAR. Rev. T. Lea, European pastor. Number of members, 142. "This year the church is going on lively, since we had minister." "Since he came, many a bad weed in the church he take it out." Since the weeds cut off, month after month we meet together, and no bad case comes before us. Sunday School is going on well. The classes do not provide lights, (candles) well; but Sunday prayer meeting is crowded. Attendance is very good when minister is not there. There are "plenty young people. Since minister came, things look up."

STURGE TOWN TABERNACLE.* Rev. John Clark, pastor. Number of members, 107. (It is necessary to mention, that this church is a secession from the church under the native minister, Mr. McLaggan, and arose out of certain occurrences connected with Obeahism, in which the minister and some of the members were involved.) "We are a handful of corn." Have no fault to find as to attendance; attendance "most beautiful," except it be wet and sloppy in the town. The classes in the town are pretty well attended. There are about 700 persons in Sturge Town; all attend either the Tabernacle or Mr. McLaggan's. The Sunday School is very good; but some of the teachers come late. Very few backsliders; but they attend chapel regularly. The leaders are attentive to their duty, and look after the "slack." If you scold the people, you make them worse. There are many complaints about the estates. People are not getting rid of religion, though it is not as it was twenty years ago. A little before and after freedom there was more piety, everybody "was going to chapel." All felt the yoke of Satan, and looked to religion for comfort

* Sturge Town was the first township settled by the Rev. John Clark after emancipation. It consisted of 120 acres, and cost £700. Of this amount rather more than £400 was paid down by about eighty or ninety of the people, and the remainder by instalments and additional purchasers. Nearly 100 building lots, and an equal number of acres for provision grounds, were laid out. In 1850, the population was 541. Number of houses, 111, containing 113 families. *A Brief account of the Settlements by Rev. John Clark. pp.* 5, 6.

then. Young people "feel no lash;" yet they are coming to chapel; but do not exhibit such great piety. There is not so much religion now as before cholera. People do not feel so much now as at the time when "free come." There was not so much trouble in admitting members then as now, piety was more apparent, there was no need to examine so strictly. Some deacons and leaders hesitate now to recommend for membership any who are not married people. Young people can earn money for themselves, and are not so dependent on the old people; they do not listen as formerly to the old people "to tick to de gospel."

ST. ANN'S BAY. Rev. B. Millard, European pastor. Number of members, 504. "Tank God for gracious privileges Him give to we." We do not see the love to the gospel there was at first. People do not see God at all as they did. We see it well at St. Ann's Bay, and if we go to Brown's Town we see it better still. "Dont want whip again." (Here there was a general shaking of heads by way of assent.) "Tree talk to me of them times." (A reference to the speaker having been flogged when a slave, fastened to a particular tree.) Young people did not then love the gospel, because there is not the same pressure upon them; life was then miserable, and the gospel our only comfort. Young people have now many comforts. We have a very good church, when minister there; when he is not there, people do not attend so well. In his absence we have reading scripture,

prayer, and discourse. We have a very good Sunday School. Whatever things there may be, there will be "a little fault" in them. We talk to backsliders; some will not come back at all. Mr. Millard is a capital pastor We have peace in the church. Not much reason to complain; "religion is good enough." (Explained that religion was prospering among them.)

"Tank I am the gentleman I am this day." Many men cannot get work to do. Glad if you will hire men. "If you no work, can make no gentlemen." People will do twenty times more work without whip, if paid properly. Formerly religion flourished more. It was then the beginning of the year; now it is the mid part of the year; people fall back. They take one Sunday for themselves, and give one to God. They visit one another, talk from house to house, instead of going to chapel. Both young and old have to be blamed. Many are not prosperous, because they have no work to do. The pay also is bad. If the people had more money, they would give it. Some will put it to a bad use. The rule in the church is to give threepence a week in the class, and sixpence a quarter on renewing the tickets; that is, fourteen shillings a year; some do not pay a third of it.

Ocho Rios. Rev. B. Millard, pastor. Number of members, 329. The church is in peace, and the chapel is well attended; but is sometimes "lean" when minister is not there. There is a "beautiful" Sunday school. Young people attend very well. They can rejoice at the present time, and preaching is regularly

maintained. They "mourn" that they have not a week-day school. The children go out to work. Minister looks well after the sheep; "if him say him come at midnight, he is there." There are many back-sliders; some give encouragement; but we never give up imploring them to return. Ocho Rios has a name; it is the mother Church of us all. When we cannot bring back offenders to the "right place," we bring them before the Church, especially the bad cases. There are sometimes quarrels, and even fightings; but not many such cases, and they are generally the same persons over and over again. There is not much drunkenness among the people, not more than formerly. "All tings cannot go togeder." "State (attendance) of our Church, sometimes tin; when minister dere, full." Many of the young people give us much encouragement; they may be a little giddy; but we must pray for them. "Every day I receive fresh sight; and I pray for them to have eyes opened—eyes of mind." Unless they give perfect satisfaction, we do not receive them into the Church. We could baptize more if we wished; but it is of no use to take bad people and fill our Church. We want good, sound, strong members.

Here closed the reports from the Churches. On re-assembling, after some refreshment, the conversation and discussions became more general. The subject of a native ministry was especially taken up.

To hear one of my own people preach, said one, "make me higher." But we want white ministers to mix with the coloured, and to deal with the white people

for us. The black ministers can preach to us acceptably, and we like to hear them, and are quite able to manage the Churches very well. But as everybody will not obey, we must resort to white men for help and counsel. White people squeeze us too much if there be no white ministers to represent our case at home, as well as to meet white men here.

Said another: White men manage for white men in England, why not black men for black men here? Suppose Calabar to furnish ministers as the white men die off; if they write to England, they would get advice.

Another remarked: We have young men, but they do not offer themselves. Native ministers are thought not to be so kind to the people as the Europeans. Black people have a bad heart; and then they don't care, and they turn against their own colour. The people take discipline better from the white ministers. Without a mixture of both, the Churches will not do well. A little "milk" and a little black together will do well.

Another said: As Jamaica cannot do without the government of the English, so we cannot do without English ministers in the Church. The gospel came like the sun at its rising: it has not yet reached the meridian. Till then, we cannot do without white ministers. What the English have begun, they must carry on to the end. They were our fathers and mothers in spiritual things, and the son wants them still. We would like much to have some native brethren

educated in England. We want our native brethren to get all the light they can. Europe is a place that God has blessed with light.

The white people would be glad, said one, if the ministers would go away for ever, and then what would they not do with the blacks? There are, however, some good men among them.

A few remarks followed, on the ability of the people to give. One said, that the young people who were well to do gave liberally. Generally, a falling off in the subscriptions was a sure sign of the religious interest of the individual being in a state of decline. It was not too much to expect of every member at least 5*d.* a-week. Some young people, who are settling, cannot give so much.

The above is a transcript of the notes I took at this interesting meeting. I have not attempted to preserve, except in a few instances, the rude patois in which the thoughts of the people were expressed. It was often evident that they felt no slight difficulty in finding words to express themselves, the sentences being involved, and often highly figurative. The vocabulary of the people is a short one, and soon exhausted, a sure sign of the uneducated condition in which they have been brought up. They displayed, however, great independence of opinion, manliness of manner, and deep earnestness. We were impressed with the zeal, piety, good sense, and judgment which their remarks continually displayed.

After this pleasant gathering we proceeded to St.

Ann's Bay, where we spent some days with our valued friend, the Rev. B. Millard, and his family—holding meetings in his large and commodious chapel, and also at his other station, Ocho Rios, about eight miles distant. The St. Ann's Bay church is one of the most thoroughly organized churches in Jamaica. The General Baptists originally had a station in this town, but relinquished it in 1830, when the late excellent missionary, the Rev. J. Nicholls, came. He formed the church in St. Ann's Bay on the 1st August, 1830; and at Ocho Rios the week following. Subsequently he extended his labours to Brown's Town. His efforts to benefit the slave population soon awakened the hostility of the planters; and although the slaves of St. Ann's took no part in the Insurrection which broke out at the Christmas of 1831, yet his chapel was rudely assailed, then wrecked, then totally destroyed; himself, wife, and child, with difficulty escaping the persecuting zeal of the adversaries of freedom and righteousness. In the corner of the chapel-yard is preserved, with care, an orange-tree, on the branches of which the effigy of this good man was hung, with those of two Wesleyan missionaries. It was at St. Ann's Bay that the infamous Colonial Union was born, its parents being the parties who sought to demolish the sanctuaries of God, and who threatened the separation of Jamaica from the sovereignty of England, if their unhallowed property in slaves was touched. The house in which its first adherents met is now a crumbling ruin; but on the site of the chapel they destroyed stands the present substantial structure. It will hold fourteen

hundred persons. It is usually full, and more than once during our visit was crowded.

Some interesting facts relative to the inner life of the church were laid before us, drawn partly from the records of the church, and partly from intercourse with the leaders and the members. The number of members in full communion was 504. Of these 336 are considered as able to contribute to the support of the ministry, and the maintenance of the means of grace. There are ten deacons, and the church is broken up into forty-two classes, each with its chosen leader, and in some cases with more than one. The weekly contribution collected in the classes is threepence each person. Members' tickets are renewed quarterly, when a further sum of sixpence is usually given. For any special purpose—such as repairs, new buildings, or a benevolent object—a separate call is made. The church is made up of the following elements:—Males, 195; females, 302. Of the males, 172 are married; of the females, 198. There are 94 widows, of whom 67 are very old, receiving aid from the church's poor fund. There are 12 widowers, six of whom are very aged. There are 10 young men unmarried, and 9 young women. Generally the deacons do not like to recommend unmarried persons for church-fellowship. Non-attendance at communion is usually followed by an inquiry as to its cause. The chief offences brought before the church for discipline are unchastity and quarrelling. Discipline is also applied to theft and fraud, to persons in debt, to slander, and to such as become sellers of rum. We found on the records cases

of persons who had allowed a son or a daughter living in sin to live with them, or to occupy houses belonging to them. There was an instance in which a woman had been excluded for encouraging superstition. She had availed herself of the dread of obeah in order to protect her cocoanuts from robbery, by tying a bottle of sea-water, whitewashed, to a conspicuous part of the tree. In another case, an old woman was reproved because she had allowed her young grandson to run a race, and purchased food with the eighteen pence he won. A man was reprimanded for having carried to the race-course, in the way of duty, some articles which his employer wanted there, though on depositing them at the booth he had immediately come away; and another was excluded for having gone to the race-ground to sell sweetmeats. I mention these incidents to illustrate the spirit and nature of the discipline maintained, not in this church only, but generally in the churches throughout the island. We may think some of the offences too trifling, and some as receiving too heavy a punishment; but there can be no question as to the healthy moral effect, both on the congregation and the community at large.

I shall condense into one statement various interesting facts communicated by the deacons and leaders of the two churches under Mr. Millard's care.

They were by no means inclined to think that there was any permanent decline in the religious character of the churches; "things may go down a little, but they come up again." Young people are taking the places of

the old, as they are removed to their rest. There are a few people in the district occupied by the two churches, who go to no place of worship; but they are fewer than in slavery time. At Raymond Hill Settlement, where there are ten families, eight Baptists and one Wesleyan, there is but one person who does not go to a place of worship. In Lewis, a few go nowhere; some of the young people "sit down;" but it was the same in slavery time. In Lower Hall Village, out of eighty persons, four young people go to no place of worship; their excuse is—that they have not any clothes. There are, of course, many who do not attend regularly. Thus, in St. Ann's Bay, the number usually attending divine worship is about equal to the non-attendants. Taking all classes, there are in the town fewer attendants than just after slavery was abolished. But there is not a house in the Bay which has not been visited by the members, the people invited to the sanctuary, and spoken with about their souls. Even the vilest of the population have not been passed by. At Windsor Hill, all the people go to some place of worship. At Waterhill, most of the people are praying persons.

In Ocho Rios, which, like St. Ann's Bay, is a small seaport, it is difficult to keep the young men "right." Bad people collect at the Bay; many do not attend worship at all. But at Harris Town very few absent themselves entirely. At Three Hills, a few "sit down." At Beecher Town, only three families out of sixty or seventy do not attend some place. At Harrison Town, every one goes. At Paradise, there is one family which

never attends worship. At Roadside are some "dancing people;" three families go nowhere, and try to do all the "bad" they can.

With reference to the rule by which all belief and practice must be guided, the leaders said: In all matters of doctrine and duty we must go by God's law. It is the only guide we have. "Bible is right; correct book; full book; and not the Prayer Book." Forms of prayer are not "feeling" prayer. Scriptures do not say from the beginning, "use Prayer Book;" prayer must come from the heart. If our minister preach error, we would not receive him; "but he won't." If he were to die, God would still care for the Church. There is no law in the Church but the Bible. To go to a dance may not in itself be wrong. David danced. There is "dancing" in heaven when a sinner repents. But at dances we have to "contend with bad people and wicked companions." One estate was particularly characterized as the grave of all moral character. For any female, married or unmarried, to take work upon it, was fatal to her reputation.

It is our duty to carry on the cause of God. People who try to work will have a little money to give. At freedom, and for a while after, people had little use for money. "Now we have more things to do than money to do them; more uses to put our money to. We can't compel any to give. It is left to every one's free will; but we expect them to give." Some of the members may be covetous; but generally if they have money, they are willing "to do their duty." "It is not right

to go to Government to get money to repair our chapels." Here one of the leaders broke in with the remark that the Wesleyan minister had told him that he had got £60 for his chapel, and it was right, because his people had to pay towards the taxes from which the Establishment was supported. It was only getting it back again. "I tell this to minister, and he show me the right sense of it." Bible does not tell us to go to the House of Assembly. Our "family" (Church) is not founded on the "country laws," but on the Bible. Giving must come from a man's own mind.

The conversation now diverged into general remarks on the condition of the people. Formerly, they said, people were more liberal; but then wages were 1*s.* 6*d.* or more a day. With better wages they could give more. People pay 4*s.* a month for an acre of provision ground; some 5*s.* The quantity of land for this rate is not rigidly measured, especially where they labour on the estate from which they rent the land. With 5*s.* a week wages, a man may perhaps be able to spare 3*d.* a week to his class, if he has no family. If he has no land he must pay 3*s.* a week for bread stuff, (this includes yams, or other farinaceous roots, and a little wheat-bread,) and 1*s.* 6*d.* for salt provisions and meat. Then he has to provide clothes, physic, and taxes. People are better dressed,* and have better houses than formerly. But

* In slavery both men and women were dressed in a coarse blue stuff called baize, or in coarse Osnaburgh, with woollen caps. On some estates the men had in addition very common black hats, and the women common handkerchiefs for their heads, and once in two or three years a blanket was given

there is more distress than in the early days of freedom. All their earnings are taken up in living. One of the leaders offered the remark: If bread kind has to be bought for a large family, the husband must give to the wife every week 6*s*. to buy it. If they have provision ground, they must give out 3*s*. for meat. Another said that he had four acres of indifferent land, and he must send 12*s*. a week to market, to purchase a fair supply of food for his family of six children, if his ground furnished no provision. They are sometimes obliged to put up with one meal a day. Many of the people depend upon their pimento walks, as well as provision grounds. But it has been a bad year for both. In fair years they can usually meet their expenses very well. Besides pimento and provision, they breed pigs, and obtain jobs on the penns (grazing farms).

Proprietors will not sell land now, though many of the people desire to buy it. Many estates cannot be sold. They can buy land only up in the mountains, far away from the estates, where it can be bought for from £7 to £10 an acre; but "it of no use to we here." The proprietors say that they did wrong at first to sell land. In some cases where it can be rented, the proprietors reserve the pimento crop, if there are any trees upon it.

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them. The men transformed their baize into a shirt, jacket, and trowsers; the women their Osnaburgh into petticoats or long smocks. One such suit lasted for a year. One day I said to a planter, in referring to the good substantial clothing the people now possess: "May I not say that every man and woman has one good suit of clothes at least?" "You may say two," was the reply.

This the people deem a hardship, for they have to pay the same rent as for cleared land, and land with pimento trees on it will not grow provisions well.

The labour on the estates is often very hard; many have to start from home hours before daylight in order to reach the estates by six o'clock. An hour, and in some cases an hour and a half, is allowed for breakfast, and the day's work usually ends at four o'clock. One of our informants, a ranger, added: "Day work is driving work, it is tongue work, kill work;" that is, the ranger, or driver has to use his tongue to get the people on. The people need driving at day work, not at task work; at task work they leave when the task is finished. If a man finished his task at noon, he would be too tired to go on with another, especially if he has to work day after day. For moulding up 3½ rows of cane they are paid 1*s.* 3*d.*, but must be very active to do it in a day. One hundred cane holes may be dug in light land by a good worker by twelve o'clock, but he would usually be too fatigued to do more. The wages for this task is 2*s.* The cutting of the cane is paid at the rate of 1*s.* a load, and two loads can be cut in a day. In day work, a cook is allowed to each gang, but not in job, or task work. The driver of a gang is judge of the work. On seven estates mentioned, six pay their labourers every week; on the other, the labourers are generally paid, but the property people (carpenters, smiths, coopers, &c.) are frequently put off, and the payment of their

earnings is delayed. On another estate, the pay day is every other Saturday. If the work is stopped by rain, the wages are cut for the time lost, however short it may be. Labourers are always to be had, except in crop times, or when the pimento harvest is being picked; wages are higher at that time.

Of more than fifty deacons and leaders present during the conversation, every one possessed land of his own. More than one half of them never work on estates at all, their provision grounds and pimento walks giving them a sufficient livelihood. Some gave other reasons why they do not work on the estates. Thus, one made a bargain with an overseer, and when the job was completed, the overseer would not pay the price agreed upon, but sent him away with oaths; he would not submit to such indignity again. Another, a carpenter, was defrauded by the manager of an estate; now he lives by jobbing about, and by his provision ground. Another has become a butcher, and finds the trade a profitable one; why, he asked, should he go to the estate?

When we spoke, in the larger meeting of the people, of the freedom they had gained, and the privileges they now enjoy, some of them gave utterance to very striking and touching remarks. Said one: "We no get free by our own money; nor did Jesus himself come to give us free; He spake the word, and men did it." Said another: "I were slave once, and massa told me I no better dan dog in my country." The senior deacon related, how that he bought his freedom, and when he

wished to buy his wife, her master refused. He would allow him to buy the children; but that he did not care to do, as in a year or two they would become free. At last, the owner hired his wife to him at *5s.* a week. He did not feel angry; but thought it very kind of her master! Said another: "One day of liberty, with poverty, is better than 365 days of slavery, with abundance." "Have we not our children to love us and wait upon us?" "Thank God for liberty," echoed another, "and the people of England, who gave us the gospel, too. Every day, when we pray for wife and children, we pray for the Queen." "We were without fathers and mothers; but we have the Queen; and Christ is our Forerunner, and is in Heaven standing before us."

One thus expressed his pleasure at seeing the deputation: "We thought that we were fatherless and motherless children; but two sons have come from our kind mother, and now we hear that our father and mother live, and they sing a kind song to us; and we know that Christ lives also. We who were ignorant in the beginning, have chosen those who love Christ for our leaders. We are in Jamaica; but we have no power, no hope here; all our power and hope is in England." To which one sitting by added, "If it was not for the Baptist Society, we would not be what we is now." "England is the head of our country," shouted a third.

It will be remarked that great anxiety is exhibited to possess land, and that the diminution of their means of

livelihood is a frequent subject of complaint; while at the same time wants have increased. Deprived of wages, or obliged to receive less, the people have been compelled to resort to the cultivation of the soil on their own account,* and this resort to the land was, in the first instance, forced upon them by the mistaken and oppressive course of the planters. It is now become a necessity; for population has increased, and concurrently with it the fund from which wages must be paid has decreased. The census of the present year (1861), proves that since 1844, notwithstanding the fearful destruction of life by cholera and small-pox in 1850-1, the population has increased 63,000. This of itself must have a serious influence on the rate of wages. Then there has been going on a constant diminution in the export of staples, sugar and coffee, and other minor articles, excepting pimento; and consequently a far less amount available for the payment of wages. The annual loss of wages to the people from the decay of estates and plantations, cannot be less than £300,000.†

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* In the first three years of freedom the peasantry connected with the Baptist Churches of St. Ann's parish spent £10,000 in the purchase of land. *Baptist Herald for* 1842, *p.* 146. Up to 1845, Mr. Knibb stated in a speech at Norwich, forty free villages had been founded in St. Ann's parish, and 1743 houses built. *Life, p.* 487.

† For six years before freedom, from 1833 to 1838 inclusive, the average annual export of sugar was 74,389 hhds.; for the six years, from 1853 to 1858 inclusive, 29,871 hhds.; an average annual diminution of 44,518 hhds. Reckoning the loss in wages to the labouring class at £5 per hhd., this article alone shows a diminution of £222,590. The average export of coffee in the same years, was respectively 12,356,306 lbs., and 5,391,138 lbs., a diminution of 6, 965,168 lbs. annually. This at 1½d. per lb. for the value of labour merely, gives a loss in wages of £43,532. A similar diminution, and

With this diminution in the amount of wages distributed in the island, there has been a contemporaneous reduction in the amount contributed for the support of the means of grace by our Churches. Thus, before 1844, immediately preceding the application of free-trade principles to the staples of Jamaica by the Parliament of Great Britain, and the consequent ruin of one half the estates, the average annual contribution of each member was eleven shillings and eleven-pence; in 1849, it had fallen to seven shillings and four-pence. That was the period of lowest depression. Since that time it has undergone a slight increase, for in 1859 it amounted to eight shillings and two-pence a head. These facts will go far to explain the complaints of the people as to their reduced temporal circumstances; the check which was observable a few years ago in the improvements that were going on in buildings and dress, the decrease that has taken place in the salaries of the pastors, and the urgent applications for assistance made to the Missionary Committee, to remove the burden of chapel debts, and which led to the grant, in 1845, of £6000, and the liberal donation of the treasurer, in 1847, of £2000 more towards their removal. The popular consciousness of the true origin of their diminished means, is shown by the instances that were mentioned to us of the eagerness with which the people welcomed the resumption of cultivation on estates now

consequent loss of wages, has taken place on other articles, such as rum, ginger, arrow-root, and some minor productions. The export of bees-wax, honey, and cocoa-nuts, of purely native growth, has increased.

lying ruinate. They offered to plant several acres of cane without remuneration, and, in one case, actually did so, in order to exhibit their willingness to labour, and which act was, at the same time, expressive of their pleasure at the prospective increase of their earnings.

It is probable that many of the complaints made to us refer to occurrences of some years' date. New proprietors have succeeded those who were owners of estates at the time of emancipation, and a greater disposition is unquestionably shown by many to deal fairly with the people. Task work has in numerous cases displaced day work, and removed many causes of strife. Still, it is clear, that in the minds of the labouring class there is an abiding feeling that they are treated with injustice, and that every advantage is taken of their ignorance and dependent condition. It is kept in life by the planters who continue to regard them only as the instruments of wealth, as so much sugar machinery, without affections, and born only to labour in the cane field, who act as if it was their right to control and coerce the labourer for their own sole advantage.

During our stay in St. Ann's Bay, we had the pleasure of an introduction to several gentlemen from whom we derived much important and varied information. With one of these, I had voyaged on my way to Jamaica. He gave us a very hearty reception, and introduced us to his brother. They are men of great intelligence, and of long acquaintance with Jamaica. They are either proprietors or managers of several

estates and properties; and place considerable confidence in black men, as the following facts will show. Recently they have let to two men, both of them members of the Church at Brown's Town, an estate of 2,100 acres, at a rent of £100 a year, without any fear of the punctual payment of the rent. I afterwards learnt at Brown's Town, that each of these black men cultivates about sixty or eighty acres; they are letting out largely the rest for provision grounds. Another estate, a breeding penn, is entirely managed by a black man. The balance sheet of the year just closed, was placed in my hands, which showed a floating capital on the property of £3005. The profit, which is satisfactory to his employers, was entirely dependent on the skill and integrity of this black manager. In the neighbourhood of Coultart Grove, seven other penns, or grazing farms, were referred to as being under the successful management of black men.

On the other hand, it was affirmed that the labouring class generally would not work more than half or three parts of a day; that many attempts had been made to induce the labourers to work longer by offering additional wages, but they refuse. Task work is paid more highly than day work, or rather, the people earn more in a day by the one than the other. St. Ann's Parish is well cultivated, although the soil is not so good as in St. Mary's, the parish beyond. On the richer soils of St. Mary's, the people do not work so well. It was their opinion that there is a sufficient supply of labour in the district; but immigration was

desirable, as it adds to the general welfare of the country. For this reason it is fair to throw a portion of the expense of immigration on the general revenue of the island; it derives advantage from their presence, beyond the immediate gain to the planter. The immigrants must be fed, and the food must be supplied from the provision grounds of the people; who therefore gain directly by the increase of the demand for their produce.

The consumption of sugar has largely increased since emancipation; and the quantity thus consumed should be added to any estimate of the quantity of sugar produced. The English annual rate of consumption is 35 lbs. a head. The people of Jamaica consume more than this, my informant said 50 lbs. a head. But taking the English rate, and the population of Jamaica at 400,000 persons, 6250 hogsheads * are consumed, and must be added to the quantity exported to give the total produce of the island. Nearly the whole of this is grown on the homesteads of the people, and the internal trade in this article is almost entirely in their hands. A similar increase has taken place in the consumption of coffee, which I estimate at four millions and a half pounds. The slaves were not allowed either sugar or coffee; the consumption was furtive, except in crop

* I have reckoned 20 cwt. to the hogshead. Of late years the size of the hogshead has increased, so that the quantity manufactured is nearly one tenth more than the tables give, as compared with the returns ten or fifteen years ago.

time, when they ate sugar *ad libitum*. The vast increase in the use of these articles is the result of freedom, and is a very gratifying proof of the growing comfort and enjoyment of the enfranchised population. With such an internal demand, it is no wonder that coffee cultivation is growing into favour among the negroes, and that small sugar mills are so rapidly multiplying in all directions.

One morning we breakfasted with the Custos of St. Ann's. He is a member of the House of Assembly, and a manager of at least seven estates. The estate on which he resides is his own property, and lies most pleasantly situated about a mile from the Bay. The house stands in a very picturesque situation; having on the one hand a view of the sea, and on the other spread out before it the fertile vale, in which the chief part of the property lies. Around the house, the hill sides are very park-like, the turf being kept clear of bush, and some fine trees studding the ground. The statements of this gentleman were of great interest. He had managed estates in the time of slavery, and after its abolition he was one of the first to prove, by skill and good management, that the cultivation of sugar might be made profitable, although labour had to be hired, and the produce to enter into competition with the slave grown article of other lands. In 1845, he obtained the prize of the Jamaica Royal Agricultural Society, for his management of the Seville estate, where he proved that sugar could be made at a cost

of three halfpence per pound, and where the profit on the cultivation was upwards of £1500. But then Seville estate was economically managed; it did without an attorney, paid no shipping agents, and saved largely in commissions. Through all the subsequent difficulties of the island, its loss of protection, failure of banks, and the settlement of labourers in free villages, the estates managed by this gentleman have continued to prosper. Among the last statements made to me, just after the close of 1859, was this—that every one of his estates had paid a fair profit on the year's work, ranging from £1000 to £2000. Let us now see how this result was obtained.

On all the estates the labourer is regularly paid every week, and often at a rate a little higher than the current wages of the district. His demand for labour is tolerably certain and continuous; so that the same people are employed the year round. In the pimento picking season, the growth of which is very large in St. Ann's parish, and in the season for planting provisions, the supply of labour is generally short. With these exceptions, the weekly pay-bills are pretty regular as to amount. All the people either own or rent provision grounds; but for this wages would be lower, as the pressure on the labour market would be more severe; in other words, labour would be redundant. He does not need immigrants, as they would be, in St. Ann's at least, more costly than Creole labourers. After the cholera, labourers were scarce; but the loss then

sustained in the population is, in his opinion, quite made up.* Wages are one shilling a day; task work is paid better. Cane holes are dug at the rate of two shillings the hundred holes. Very few men can dig more than a hundred in a day; to keep on at it. The people work slower on day wages than at tasks or jobs; but task or job work rather encourages idleness. The people generally need some incentive towards the close of the day. Therefore, in the boiling-house, the following plan is adopted:—For the first nine pans, twopence a pan is given; for the tenth, sixpence; for the eleventh and twelvth, threepence each. Before he introduced improved machinery, it often took fourteen to sixteen hours to boil nine pans; which is considered a day's work. Now, that quantity is often done by four o'clock. For provision grounds, the charge is four shillings an acre per mensem. On the Seville estate the rental amounts to £200 a year. He separated the question of rent from that of labour at emancipation, and the result on that property was very advantageous. A regular supply of labour was always secured without coercion or threat.

The overseer informed us that the value of an acre of provision ground, will range from £12 to £17 a year, which is in addition to the labourers' earnings on the estate. The arrangement respecting rent has tended to retain the labourers on the estates, and many have wrought upon them continuously for many years. The

* The Census of this year establishes the correctness of this opinion.

people are, however, poorer than they were, owing, probably, to the drought and failure in the pimento crop for two years. Very few estates are now thrown up; there is an obvious tendency in many places to resume the working of the best lands. Estates which under one management failed, have rallied under better management. One especially was mentioned, where, in six years, ten thousand pounds had been lost. It now pays its way, and is cancelling the debts of former years. More difficulty had been experienced with an estate in St. Mary's, the direction of which had been but recently assumed. The people were found less manageable; but better and regular wages had brought about an improvement. Other estates of that parish are not doing so well; but, probably, would improve by a similar mode of management. During the late drought many labourers were kept on, that the gangs might not be scattered and get otherwise employed. Thus both labourers and goodwill were secured, as well as timely relief afforded to the people. The cost of sugar on these estates is about £12 a ton. By the introduction of improved processes of manufacture on one of them, the productiveness was enhanced 30 per cent., both in the quantity of sugar and rum.

Before leaving, we were kindly conducted over the works, which lie conveniently in the bottom of the valley. The arrangements were most perfect. The mill is worked by water power, conducted to it by an aqueduct from a perennial spring close at hand. The mill for crushing the cane is of iron,

very massive and powerful; the cylinders are placed in a horizontal position, and not in a vertical one, as is the case in all the older mills. Everywhere iron is being substituted for wood. The reservoir and settling pans are all of iron. The houses for curing the sugar, storing the rum, and the stills, were in perfect order. Every precaution is taken to prevent waste. We were no longer surprised that our worthy host had increased the produce of his estate 30 per cent., or that bankrupt estates under his management became paying concerns.

Many estates, however, which have gone out of cultivation, do not owe their ruin to bad management. Some of them ought never to have been brought under crop. At the time of the Revolution in St. Domingo, the mountains of which are within sight of Jamaica, there was a great rush to this island. The cultivation of sugar received a great stimulus from the failure of production there, and estates were planted in places and on soils which could pay only under a system of protection, or during a time of high prices. These were the first to collapse on the break up of the slave trade in 1805, and the fall in prices consequent on the cessation of the Revolutionary War in 1815. *

* In 1811 the assembly of Jamaica, in a petition to the Prince Regent, could say: "Estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees, and creditors absent from the island, until there are large districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single proprietor of a sugar plantation resident." *Lord Grey's Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration, Vol.* I., *p.* 404. Ruin has been the chronic state of Jamaica from the beginning of the present century.

Subsequent events only confirmed the decay already begun.

It will be observed, that there is considerable difference between the day rate of wages and the amount the labourers are said to earn in a day by task work. In the latter it will reach to 2*s.*, or even 2*s.* 6*d.*, while the nominal rate for the former is one shilling. From the numerous inquiries which we made, I came to the conclusion that this difference is probably one cause of the asserted idleness of the people. In fact, the labourer does not give for a shilling the same amount of labour he expends to earn his 2*s.* a day, at cane hole digging and similar well paid work. For let it be supposed that by a given task he can earn two shillings in a nine hours' day, and that without unsuitable fatigue, can the planter expect the labourer to expend the same amount of exertion to win one shilling? Hence the day labourer has to be driven, "tongue-driven" as one expressed it. He thinks the shilling too little; the master considers that the work done for it is not enough. In truth, judging by the standard of what he can earn at task work, the labourer tries to give only a shilling's-worth of labour for his shilling. He is therefore open to the charge of laziness, for he can actually do more. The testimony was uniform that where task or job work is in question, the negro shows no lack of industry; but when he is on day work, the planter complains of short hours, slow steps, and sluggish hands. In many parishes, task work is displacing day work as far as practicable; employer

and employed find it more profitable, and in every way more satisfactory.

While in St. Ann's Bay, we called on a store-keeper. Trade, he said, was bad, probably owing to the drought that had prevailed a little while before. At weddings, the people dress much; but at other times simply enough. Their taste was rapidly improving. He lost very little by black people. His losses in business were chiefly among the whites. The negroes always paid; or if they were backward, a threat of suing them was generally sufficient. They have a great dread of being brought into a court of law. He thought that a shilling a day was quite inadequate to the support of a family, unless they also possessed a fair quantity of provision ground.

Crime does not appear very rife in St. Ann's. In a short ride along the seabeach, we came to the old workhouse of the parish, now used as a lockup and jail. The portion which formerly held the treadmill, and in which such cruelties are recorded to have been perpetrated in the old time, is in ruins, and every trace of the treadmill is gone. Luxuriant grass fills every corner of this "place of sighs." In the jail we found only a boy charged with stealing, and a man and woman accused of Obeahism, which is severely punished by law. The man had a villainous look, and the woman seemed frightened with the result of her folly in consulting him.

St. Ann's Bay is a flourishing town, though its wharves at the season of our visit were still, and but

one or two sail lay at anchor in the harbour. The houses are neat and well built. The roads are good, shops are numerous and well stocked, and the estates and pimento properties of the neighbourhood afford good occupation to the people.

Three or four miles beyond the town is a very beautiful waterfall. The road to it passes through luxuriant cane fields, and within sight of the sea, a creek of which has the tradition attached to it of being a harbour of refuge to Columbus in one of his voyages of discovery. Coming upon a spur of the mountains, running down to the sea, the road led us between walls of living rock to a small stone bridge beyond. This pass was opened by slave gangs from the workhouse in the days of slavery. The poor people have left the memorial of their labours, not only in the scarped sides of the rock, but by carving their initials and names upon them. In these gangs were men placed in fetters for the crime of praying to their God; the victims of the wrath of the Colonial Union. One of the present deacons of the church at St. Ann's Bay, performed the mule's part, and was harnessed to the cart which drew away the loosened stones.

A branch of the Roaring River rushed beneath the bridge that just beyond the cutting spanned the torrent, and fell in a cascade over the rocks into the sea. We spent a little while among the overshadowing trees, watching the rush of waters, admiring the sparkling foam, and in walking about the beach, over which the turbulent torrent reached its calm resting-place in

the bosom of the ocean. Returning on our steps, we came to a very elegant iron bridge thrown over another branch of the river, which rushed through the gorge that its waters had worn with great impetuosity. Just above the bridge was a most lovely and picturesque spot. The rocks formed a low amphitheatre, and at numerous points the waters poured over them in cascades of many forms, dashing into spray, or trickling in rivulets down the sinuosities of the rocks, or spouting forth from a thousand mouths, and falling into a large pond of varying depth, before uniting in one stream to make the plunge at the bridge. From the jutting stones, and shallow places of the pond, trees of the most elegant forms and combinations sprang into the sky, giving by their profusion of foliage in the brilliant sunlight, an exquisite and tender floating beauty to the scene, a sort of light-gloom, more light than gloom, the rays of the sun penetrating the arcades of branches and leaves, and playing with myriads of dancing shadows on the surface of the placid pool, and over the falling waters of the cascades. These, too, had their arbours of foliage, from which they leaped forth into the light. We jumped from ledge to ledge, admiring the numberless ferns which so lovingly hung over the little rills, and lingered long in this scene of exquisite beauty.

We next turned into a pasture, and drove some distance up the valley, along which the river finds its way. It was quite concealed by the bush and trees. At length mounting on horseback, and with woodmen in front to clear the path, we ascended the mountain,

and reached the grand falls. With considerable labour the men cleared away the bush, and we obtained a complete view of the cataract. Far above us the waters fell over a broad ridge of rocks in three or four massive sheets. Ledges of stone broke the falling masses into foam, which then formed bubbling eddies, or broke into innumerable rivulets, adding their murmurs to the louder dash of the cataract. Everywhere, from every possible crevice, trees sprang up, presenting their bright greens in soft contrast to the whiteness of the foam and the spray. At one corner the trees receded and permitted a peep of the blue ocean, from which the falls are not much more than a mile. After refreshment under a natural arbour of trees, on one of the many islets formed by the streams, and in full sight of the falls, we clambered the rocky sides of the gorge, and drew nearer to the cataract, and for some time enjoyed the rush of waters, the sun-coloured spray, the cool shade of the covering trees, the azure of heaven, and the unworldly happiness of nature's own home. The sea peep beyond just reminding us of the homes far away, which we had left on our mission of friendship and peace. We departed slowly and with regret. Time was rapidly passing, and the business and cares of life must be resumed.

CHAPTER VI.

Drive to Oracabessa—Barriffe Hall Settlement—Pimento Cultivation—Oracabessa—Religious State of the People—Sugar Cultivation—Port Maria—Annotto Bay—Chapel Destroyed by Fire—Labour in Metcalfe Parish—State of Religion—Treatment of the People—Brown's Town—Decline in Rate of Wages and Employment—Negro Settlements—The Alps—Ulster Spring—Albert Town—Spring Gardens—Mouth River Cave—Route to Falmouth.

HAVING arranged to meet Mrs. Underhill in about ten days at Brown's Town, Mr. Brown and myself resumed our journey eastwards. We started on the afternoon of the 3rd January. The road ran through extensive woods and pimento walks, crossing three or four rivers by fords, the White River being particularly deep. There were but few cottages or settlements on the way, and very few signs of cultivation. An abandoned estate occasionally testified that the district was once under crop; but now the road looked unfrequented, and the land was choked with bush. Here and there the hills surmounted the dense vegetation, and opened glimpses of the sea, the waves of which, though unseen, were frequently heard dashing on the rocks below during our drive. As the sun's light faded away, we crossed the Oracabessa river, and mounted the hill amid the dark shadows of forest trees. Unhorsing the carriage, we

left it at a small spirit store, and rode to Barriffe Hall, along a mountain path, amid pimento trees illumined with the moon's bright beams. Higher and higher we rose, till the summit of the mountain was reached, upon which stands an old Spanish bungalow, the residence of the Rev. D. Day, the minister of Oracabessa and Port Maria stations.

The next morning presented us with a magnificent view of the sea; and during a few hours of great clearness in the atmosphere, we caught a glimpse of the mountains of Cuba. To the south, the Blue Mountains were seen rising majestically over intervening ridges. The hills all round were clothed to the top with the fragrant pimento, and in the vales below were sugar estates. The property of Barriffe Hall consisted originally of 220 acres. The cultivable portion of the land was purchased by the enfranchised peasantry, whose cottages lie scattered in the hollows; the rest remains in the hands of Mr. Day. It produces pimento only.

The pimento crop is a very variable one. The cost of picking and preparing the berry for market, is not less than one penny per lb. To this must be added carriage, the cost of clearing away the bush, pruning the trees, and interest of capital; so that less than twopence per lb. will not remunerate the cultivator. Owing to the excessive crop of two or three years ago, the price in the island has fallen to one penny three farthings per lb; and diminished crops since, have led to serious losses. The foliage of the tree is of a dark

green colour, and the leaves on being pressed emit the fragrance of the spice. The flower is a delicate white blossom, which ripens into a small berry, of the colour of, but a little larger than, an elder-berry. It hangs in large bunches from the more tender twigs, and is gathered by being beaten down with long poles, women and children surrounding the tree, and as rapidly as possible stripping the broken boughs as they fall. This rude process is doubtless injurious to the future bearing of the trees. After picking, the berries are carried to large barbecues, where they are spread out to dry in the sun; the remnants of the calyx of the flower, and the small stalks fall off, and when quite dry the spice is packed in bags for the market. The trees are generally self-planted, springing up from seeds dropped by birds, or that fall to the ground when ripe. Attempts to plant a pimento walk in any other way are said always to fail.

Oracabessa is a small town lying on the hill side, and near to the sea; it has a very deserted aspect. Houses still remain unoccupied and unclaimed, whose owners, with their whole families, were swept away by the cholera. The Church here was the first of the mission Churches to declare that it would "be no longer burdensome" to the funds of the Society; but would "enjoy the privilege, and perform the pleasing duty of voluntarily supporting the religion in which they had been instructed."* This resolution was taken at a public

* Missionary Herald for 1842, p. 222.

meeting in the chapel, on the 4th of December, 1841. The prospects of the island were then good, and work was abundant. The people have adhered to their resolution, notwithstanding the change of the times; but it is with much difficulty that they now contribute the amount requisite for their pastor's support. The parish of St. Mary's has suffered much from the general depression. Its population has enjoyed less religious instruction than some other parishes, and is said to be less trustworthy than in other districts.

As in other cases we met both the officers and the Church, and elicited much information on the religious and social condition of the people. They complained of a general want of life in religion; that, although attendance at chapel was pretty good when the minister was present, there did not appear any real love for public worship. The attendance generally was far below that of earlier times. This was partially explained by the formation of stations and Churches at Mount Angus and Guy's Hill, which are under the care of native pastors. More minute inquiry, however, did not quite bear out the general statement of a decline in attendance at public worship. Many it was said, go to the Church of England, and to the Methodist chapels; that before emancipation quite as many stayed at home on the Lord's-day as now; that at Jack's River all the people attend at some place of worship; at another place, only two families "sit down" and go nowhere. On the whole, it would seem that while a good proportion of the people maintain the habit of attending

public worship, there is wanting an earnest spiritual life among them.

The leaders stated that exclusions from the Church were numerous, more so than at the time of emancipation. They explained that this was partly owing to the difficulty at that time of knowing the people. The estates could not often be visited, from the opposition of their owners, and the discipline was not so strict then as it is now. Many have been lost to the Church by migration into the mountains. For a time their names were kept on the books, and when erased, the diminution in the number of members appeared large. The deacons and leaders now possess a much more intimate knowledge of the members, discipline is more easily and rapidly exercised, and since its severity has increased, the Church is "thin." Many do not like this rigour, and go to communions where there is more indulgence. The day school had been given up, the parents pleading poverty as the cause.

The general rate of wages was stated to be one shilling a day; but a carpenter would get from one shilling and sixpence to two shillings a day. A few of the people had small sugar mills; but on asking the crowded assembly in the chapel, how many possessed land of their own? nearly every hand was held up. A few sugar estates only are working in this parish. An overseer took breakfast with us one morning, and kindly furnished the following particulars of the estate under his care. Its usual annual produce is about one hundred and fifty hogsheads. Wages are paid every

third week, the estate always keeping one week's wages in hand, to secure the future services of the labourer. Labourers are abundant, except in the season for pimento picking; indeed, he is not able to find work for all who apply. The same people labour for him throughout the year, except they are sick, when they generally send some one as a substitute. His employer is favourable to immigration, and wishes him to take thirty Coolies; but he would rather be without them, for they are more troublesome, more costly, and less industrious than the Creole. A man cannot dig more than eighty cane holes in a day, for the soil is very stiff. The remuneration is two shillings.* A few more holes could doubtless be dug by a vigorous man; but certainly not day after day. After doing that task a man ought to have rest. He has no fault to find with the people generally. Sometimes they do not give a fair day's work, and not more than a shilling's worth if they can help it, if only paid at that rate for a day's toil. He prefers task and job work, as being in every respect more satisfactory, both to the employer and employed. The cost of working an estate can also be better estimated, and the expenditure kept down. Task work does not encourage idleness; on the contrary, the work is better and more quickly done. The people will not generally turn out before nine o'clock in the morning, and they leave off at three. The com-

* According to the scales of labour published by the planters in 1838, the digging of seventy holes is set down as a day's work; if the land was light, then eighty holes were expected.

plaints of the people of unjust usuage, are sometimes with, sometimes without, reason. If the wages were regularly paid, there would, no doubt, be fewer complaints. Estates often suffer in their cultivation by frequent changes of overseers.* A good profit may be made under fair management. On the estate he works, sugar is grown and manufactured at a cost of £9 a ton, this does not include the salaries of the overseer, manager, or attorney; nor the commissions charged on the shipment, nor interest of capital. Had he the machinery and appliances of an estate he named, sugar could be produced at a cost of £6 a ton. The owner of that estate has rails laid down, and much steam machinery in his works. Our informant is obliged to work with water power, or with cattle when the streams are low.

One day was occupied in visiting the station at Port Maria. The road led us through several estates, not now under cultivation, though in one part a clearing was going on for the planting of cane. The remarkable depreciation in the value of property is seen from the following instances. A pimento property, of one hundred and fifty acres, with an excellent house, in a fine and commanding situation above the sea, and a tank for the storage of water, was sold, a little time ago, for £300. A sugar estate, of seven hundred acres, was

* Cases were mentioned to me in other parts of the island, where the overseers, who are the practical directors of the cultivation, had been changed every year for several years successively.

sold for £700. Another property, partly covered with pimento, and partly fitted for sugar, consisting of a thousand acres, was bought for £500: it is being largely planted with cocoanut trees. There were, however, various signs of reviving cultivation on our route, as if the lowest point of depression had been reached.

Port Maria is a small town, with a very picturesque harbour nestling under the hills which surround it. The stores were well stocked, and there was an appearance of considerable activity of trade. The town suffered frightfully from the cholera, eight hundred persons dying of the fearful pestilence, out of a population of a thousand. Both the church and congregation appeared to be in a low state; and the chapel and mission house require repairs. For several years a very heavy debt has weighed down the energies of the pastor and his people, and every effort to remove it has hitherto proved abortive. After much consideration, a plan was proposed for its extinction, dependent partly on the liberality of the people, the assistance of friends, and the generous sacrifice, by the pastor, of a large sum due to him. So far as the congregation is concerned, their promise has been redeemed, and it now only remains for a few generous friends in this country to complete the arrangement.

While my companion undertook a journey to Mount Angus, the station of the Rev. T. Smith, I proceeded to Annotto Bay, in the parish of Metcalfe, to visit the Church under the charge of the Rev. S. Jones. My

guide was a deacon of the Church, a very intelligent man. Heavy rain had fallen in the night, so that the roads were very muddy, and, occasionally, a slight shower fell before we reached the summit of the mountain pass. The route was impassable for carriages, and led us through sugar estates, some of them abandoned; but the country was open, and cleared throughout. One estate, under the management of the Custos of St. Ann's, exhibited the same order and ability which struck us so much at St. Ann's Bay. When he first took this estate into his hands, he had some difficulty in obtaining labour. He had, also, to change the overseer. Punctual payments, however, and a fair rate of wages, with good management, soon brought labourers in abundance; but he was of opinion that, if his neighbours took the same course, he might not be so well supplied.

As we drew near to Annotto Bay, the mountains became bolder, valleys opening about their feet, and glowing with brightness in the sun. The sea had broken through the bar of sand at the mouth of the Wagwater River, by which we hoped to reach the town; We therefore ascended the left bank for nearly two miles, passing by some magnificent specimens of bamboos, in large clumps, before we found a fordable spot. Close to the town is a small lagoon, which, when full and pouring its waters across the beach into the sea, is a further obstacle in the traveller's path. Happily, the sands were unbroken, and we reached our destination a little before noon.

The large chapel was a ruin; it had been destroyed by fire eight months before. The conflagration commenced before dawn, in a yard adjoining, and the alarm was not given till it had obtained uncontrollable hold of the shingled roof of the chapel. In three hours the building, and the large schoolroom at the back of it, were totally destroyed, the walls only being left standing, and a few of the forms rescued from the flames. By great exertions, the people keeping it saturated with water, the mission house close by was preserved. But the cocoanut trees around it were scorched with the fearful heat. The chapel was a large building, sixty-eight feet long, and sixty-seven wide. With indefatigable effort, both in Jamaica and England, Mr. Jones has partially succeeded in obtaining the funds for rebuilding it.

A large tabernacle, constructed of bamboos and thatched with palm leaves, had been erected behind; and here, on the Lord's-day, and again on Monday, I met crowded congregations. Though the parish of Metcalfe has not the merit, in the island, of being the best educated, I was very much pleased with the intelligence of the people. They were well dressed; a few of the young, perhaps, too much so. But there was a warmth of heart, an appearance of happiness and contentedness, and so much comfort both visible and expressed, that spoke volumes as to the benefits which freedom had conferred upon them.

A resident gentleman told me, that he had been led to the conclusion that labour was seriously deficient in

Metcalfe; not because there are not labourers, but because they are independent of estates' labour, having small holdings of their own, and because their habits of labour are very desultory. Often they do not begin to work till eight or nine o'clock, will take two hours for breakfast, and leave off at three or four: the complaints of their employers are often true.

On the other hand, my guide said that the labourers are both unpunctually paid, and are often defrauded: he gave his own case as an illustration. To complain to a magistrate is useless, as all the magistrates are planters, and therefore judges in their own cause. There is no stipendiary magistrate in Metcalfe, to secure to the people an impartial tribunal; nor has there been one for nine years past. "They were good times," said my guide, "when we had a Queen's magistrate."

The state of religion seemed on the whole to be good, and the attendance on the means of grace of the same general character as elsewhere. Few absent themselves altogether from the worship of the sanctuary. One exception was, however, particularly dwelt upon: that of the people on an estate where the overseer encourages drumming and John Canooing to attract labourers. Rum is freely distributed among the workpeople, especially in crop time; the consequent immorality is great. The contributions of the church are not so large as they ought to be; but this was accounted for by the poverty of the district. Wages, they said, used to be two shillings a day; now, they are not more than one shilling, and even sixpence is sometimes given. Where

people had two suits of clothes, they have now only one.

In this parish the people do not appear to own much land. The land they occupy is chiefly rented, and at the rate of twenty shillings an acre. No wages would tempt them to give up their land. There is no certainty in wages, and what is to be done if sickness or wet days prevent their earning any? One of the leaders said that he was a carpenter by trade, and used to work on the estates. But he was so often defrauded, that he turned to shop-keeping, which answered very well; and he would never work on an estate again. "If you work on an estate, you are a slave; but now I am free." That very day he had met a man in the street with a broken head, his face covered with blood. A neighbouring estate manager owed the man money for work done up to Christmas. He went to ask for it; had gone several times before; but was ordered off the premises. Probably he was insulting on being refused, and got his head broke for his pains. His employer was a magistrate, and would probably imprison the man for his insolence as well.

Other like stories abound, and exhibit, if they do not produce, that antagonism one meets with everywhere between the planters and the labourers. With some honourable exceptions, they have no confidence in each other; a state of chronic warfare exists. On the one hand, the planter exhibits no generosity in his dealings with his labourers, makes no effort for their improvement, grants them no privilege; on the other, the people

feel that whatever they possess in the way of property, education, and freedom, they owe none of it to the planters, and so are often careless in fulfilling their obligations, and indifferent to the interest of their employers. Both planters and labourers, in many parts of Jamaica, have yet to learn that mutual services are mutual benefits; and that regard for each other's wellbeing is to the advantage of all.

Annotto Bay is a small town, consisting of one long street, having many good houses and stores in it. It has a busy appearance on a market-day. Being surrounded by rivers, it is swampy and damp. There are in the town a few native Baptists, and the Wesleyans have lately attempted to form a society there, but not with any success. In the interior there is a settlement of American missionaries, drawn chiefly from the Oberlin Institute established by Professor Finney, who unite industrial pursuits with the ministry of the Word. They have a small sugar estate under cultivation, on which their converts are employed, and which is profitably carried on.

My guide conducted me, on the return journey to Port Maria, by a different route. Once we missed our way on a hill thickly covered with grass, so high as to hide everything from our view. An old woman that we found in a cottage near the top, was very reluctant to show us the way, until told that we were of the same "family," a term that has come to signify among the people the same congregation or religious body. Descending into a valley, we passed two or three wains,

drawn, or rather dragged, with great shoutings and many blows, by teams of ten oxen each, through the abyss of mud, made only more impassable by the plunging of the animals, and the wheels of the laden waggons. An estate through which we passed has lately been worked, and that successfully, on the metairie system. One of the co-partners told me that, besides his wages, his share of the profits was £18. But the people do not heartily enter into the scheme; the works were far from first-rate, and the buildings in a very decayed condition.

Mr. Brown was awaiting my return at Port Maria, with Mr. Day, of whose kind hospitality we again partook. The following morning we proceeded on our way to Brown's Town, passing through Ocho Rios and St. Ann's Bay. In the latter place we held a missionary meeting, and spent the night. We journeyed to Dry Harbour the next day, to attend a conference with the people of our native minister, the Rev. J. G. Bennett, on the locality of a new chapel, the position of which had given rise to some differences of opinion among them. We were cordially entertained by the Rev. W. Milne, of the London Mission, who exercises his ministry in this pretty village; and were indebted to him and Mr. Bennett for horses to pursue our route to Brown's Town, our own being knocked up with the long journeys of the last few days.

Four days were spent in the very pleasant society of the Rev. John Clark and his family. Mr. Brown supplied the pulpit at Clarksonville on Lord's-day, while

I went to Mr. Clark's second station at Bethany. On the Monday we enjoyed a long interview with the deacons and leaders at Brown's Town, afterwards dining with them, and in the evening addressed a crowded missionary meeting of thirteen hundred people.

It seems to be generally conceded that the wages of labour have fallen very considerably within the last fifteen years. A job that would formerly be paid for at the rate of 40*s.* is now done for 10*s.* Children and women are much employed in estate labour, and men chiefly on the heavier portions of the work.* The children can clean the cane very well; they creep among the plants, and do them less injury than grown up persons. "Picanniny gangs" are now found on many estates in the western part of the island; each child receives about sixpence a day. Some estates in the neighbourhood of Brown's Town, have gone down from want of capital. Orange Valley estate at one time produced three hundred hogsheads of sugar a year; now it manufactures only one hundred and twenty. The labourers upon it formerly numbered three hundred; now there are only one hundred. Dumbarton estate was given up for want of capital. It came to be inherited by several parties, none of whom was able or willing to advance the requisite funds. Another estate was pointed out to me which in slavery time had upon

* It has been officially stated that two thirds of the persons employed on the sugar estates, are women and children.

it one hundred slaves. It is now turned into a penn, and employs only four persons.*

Of the twenty deacons and leaders who dined with us, only one now works as a day labourer. One of them lately purchased twenty-five acres of land, at £25 an acre, near to the town. There is obvious a determined tendency in the more respectable men to avoid estates' work, and to devote their time to the cultivation of land for themselves. Occasionally this independence of estate labour leads to unjustifiable acts on the part of the people; thus, on the Greenock estate, a few days before our arrival, the labourers struck work, because the manager would not allow all of them to continue together at some employment they preferred, but directed a portion to go to other work he had for them to do.

Connected with the church at Brown's Town, there are not fewer than seventeen villages, all of them established since emancipation. With much care Mr. Clark prepared a census of their population, with especial reference to their religious associations, and the extent of education among the children. I place in a footnote the totals of this interesting document.† Much has yet

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* Of thirty-two sugar estates working in 1845 in this district, not more than fourteen were under cultivation in 1853.

† Census of the population of seventeen villages connected with the Baptist congregation at Brown's Town.

Number of families	521	Number of children	1744
Baptists	416	Number of children at work	681
Other denominations	76	Children in Day Schools ..	357
Not connected with any denomination	29	Children in Sunday Schools	647
Number of families having Bibles	386	Children who can read	618

to be done to create an intelligent and educated peasantry. In no part of the island is the growth of a middle class of small freeholders more apparent; but it is still rudimentary, and for its development education must be far more widely diffused among the people than it now is. At present scarcely more than one third of the children can read, and a large proportion of the adult population still consists of those who were once slaves. But if intellectually progress has been slow, there has been a great advance in material comfort. The houses of the people are generally good substantial structures of wood, with two or more rooms, and surrounded with fruit-bearing trees, and provision grounds. The poorest cottages have but one room only. Many of them are floored, and the floor is not seldom well polished. Chairs, tables, crockery, and in the bedroom a good bedstead, may usually be met with. In a few there are traces of higher tastes, and here and there dwellings that may be said to be well provided with the conveniences, and the luxuries of civilized life.

From Brown's Town my route diverged into the mountains of Trelawny, while my colleague proceeded to Stewart Town, and the stations near it. First driving seven miles to Stewart Town, a horse and guide were with some difficulty secured for the Alps, ten miles further. Pursuing for a short distance the main road to Falmouth, the road turned southwards. After a somewhat rough ride of two miles, a grazing property was passed through, called Mahogany Penn, having excellent pastures; some of them almost equalling an

English greensward. The buildings and walls were, however, in a state of dilapidation. Thence our road began to ascend; by degrees the hills hemmed us in till we reached Sawyer's Market, a considerable settlement, having a small Wesleyan chapel, standing by the road-side, and about half-way to the Alps, five miles further. The scenery became more beautiful at every step, till at length the road, traversing narrow gorges, entered what appeared to be truly named the "Happy Valley," enclosed by mountains, and planted with the provision grounds of the people. The mountains grew bolder, till near the station an escarpment of rocks came into sight, forming a lofty wall, or enclosure to the numerous homesteads which dotted the hollow at its base. On a ledge protruding from it, stand the chapel and mission house. For several miles before reaching the station, I passed numerous well-built dwellings, and cultivated gardens; yet many of them were shut up, and uninhabited. My guide explained, that a few years before, a tax on houses had been so heavily assessed, that the people, unwilling to pay it, had left them untenanted, and put up for themselves mere shanties on their more distant provision grounds. The tax is now repealed, but the people have not recovered confidence to reoccupy their old habitations. It is a striking instance how a tax unwisely laid, or oppressively levied, may stop all improvement, and foster degrading habits of life.

"The Alps" is one of the villages that sprung into existence soon after emancipation. The land was pur-

chased by the Rev. B. B. Dexter, and laid out into about one hundred building lots for the village, and two hundred other lots for provision grounds. The station was without a minister; but the Rev. E. Fray, of Falmouth, occasionally visited the people. I found him awaiting my arrival, with a good congregation assembled. After addressing them, I again mounted, and set out for Spring Gardens, nine miles beyond. A lad, who carried my bag, acted as my guide. I was, however, accompanied for some distance by a deacon of the church, a coloured man; he is a small planter, dependant on his crops of coffee, pimento, and provisions for his livelihood.

For a mile or two we rode under a magnificent cliff, and through an awe-inspiring ravine, a pass between the sides of a cleft mountain. Emerging from the defile, we journeyed along a road cut in the face of the precipice, a long row of green bamboos shading it, and fencing the lower side. This costly cutting was the work of a deceased planter, the owner of Ulster Spring estate. In the times of slavery, this estate had the reputation of being one of the most fertile in the island, producing from two to four hogsheads of sugar the acre, the canes ratooning for ten or twelve years without manure. Emancipation set free about one hundred and forty slaves. As the proprietor could not agree with the enfranchised people, he introduced some eighty European immigrants to carry on the cultivation; the experiment was a costly failure. The estate is now tenantless; a small

portion of it is let out for provision grounds. Hedges of orange trees still mark the dimensions of the fields; but the works are dismantled, the boiling-house is in decay, the water-wheel broken, the mill in a most dilapidated condition, and the fields are running to bush. Even were the present owners of the estate rich enough to work it, the distance of the estate from the seaboard, and the difficult approaches to it in every direction, must render its cultivation a hazardous concern.

Beyond Ulster Spring is a new township, called Albert Town. The people settled here are numerous, and for the most part emigrants from the Alps. Their chief occupation is the growth of bread-kind for the markets in the lowlands. They have the repute of being very independent in their habits and tastes. None of them work on the estates. They all own land, and some rent a good deal besides. Coffee, pimento, and ginger, are largely cultivated, and there are numerous small mills for the manufacture of sugar. There are a few who manufacture it for exportation; but for the most part it finds a ready sale in the wet state, undrained of the molasses. A few years ago the people were very poor; but the demand for provisions has given them a run of prosperity. This demand is owing to the refusal of the planters on the sea-board in Trelawny, where sugar estates are numerous, and in full operation, either to sell or let land to their labourers. Some of these rent ground in the mountains; but it is so distant from their employment that they prefer to buy in the markets. I heard frequent complaints of this refusal of the planters to

allow their waste lands to be occupied for provision grounds. The people see in it, and truly, a scheme to force them to labour on the estates.

Leaving the open country about Albert Town, my boy guide now conducted me along a narrow path through a dense forest. Darkness soon came on, and we were belated. I could scarcely see in the gloom the white drapery of my guide's dress, and was obliged to give my horse the rein. With a few slips, and much wet dripping on me from the trees, by the kind providence of God, I safely reached my destination.

With the small Church at Spring Gardens, the Rev. G. Milliner united at the time of my visit the oversight of the Churches at Wallingford and Bethsalem,* some thirty miles deeper in the mountains, and only to be reached by circuitous and unfrequented paths. Since then he has removed to Bethsalem, and Spring Gardens is connected with "The Alps," under the ministry of a native pastor, the Rev. P. O'Meally. By this arrangement, Albert Town, and the settlements springing up around it, will be brought under religious instruction. The constant migration of the population into the mountains, where land can be purchased at low rates, renders it difficult to supply the people with the means of grace and of mental improvement. Their religious habits they carry with them, and usually they soon erect a small booth, or class-house, for public worship. But a native

* Wallingford is 16 miles from Spring Gardens; Bethsalem, 30; and an out-station, called Ipswich, is 20 miles further. They are all in the parish of St. Elizabeth.

ministry would be invaluable to enter these new regions, and to collect the scattered people into congregations.

In the hill behind the neat little chapel, which stands alone by the road-side, is Mouth River Cave, one of the grandest natural curiosities of the island. It is reached by a steep path almost obliterated by the bush. We first examined a sort of vestibule to the cavern, in which Divine worship has occasionally been held before the chapel was built. It will hold a congregation of two hundred persons. Turning a little to the left, we entered the main opening. Here our attendants lit their torches of pine wood, and preceded us into the interior, throwing a bright though flickering light along the roof and walls. The alley was a broad one, opening into a series of magnificent halls. In many places, pillars of stalagmite had been built up by the uninter-mitting roof-drip. In others, stalactites in smooth cones, or carved pendants, of the most elegant pro-portions, rivalling the icicles of an arctic clime, hung from the vault of the lofty roof. Here was a screen of leaves or fretwork sparkling and transparent in the gleam of the torches; there a clustered pillar of crys-tallized limestone, which might well have adorned a Gothic minster. The cavern was a cathedral of nature, with nave, aisles, and chapels of glorious beauty, en-riched with bosses, and finials, groined arches, and columns of noble forms, the work of an artist infinitely more skilful than a Phidias or Praxiteles. Once or twice I was startled by a strange similitude to the front of some gorgeously carved idol temple, such as I have

seen in India, so perfect were the niches, so grotesque the forms which filled them. More than once I fancied that some idol was seated on its pedestal, arms and head perhaps gone, or partially hidden, but solemnly and silently seeming to wait for the homage it once received. Scrambling over the irregular floor; and along narrow corridors, we wandered from hall to hall, scarcely able to restrain the ecstacy of pleasure which the unusual and superb magnificence of the scene excited. The cavern took more than an hour to examine, for it occupies the whole of the interior of the hill which enfolds it.

The next day (January 21st) I left for Falmouth, passing by numerous settlements, laid out as provision grounds, or under ginger cultivation. For eight or nine miles the route lay through gorges and deep hollows. The Burnt Mountain was scaled by a zigzag road along its face. Then followed a deep basin, like a gigantic well, the path winding round its sides. Several such crater-like hollows were passed; in one of them a river gushes out, and after running for a short distance sinks into the mountain's side, to re-appear in the lowlands. At length, passing under lofty cliffs, we emerged from this titanic region between two hills, standing like sentinels at its portal. The signs of cultivation were rare along the latter portion of this track. The path was everywhere overshadowed by trees. Ferns in great variety, with fronds like branches projected from every recess, and profusely covered the ground. Scarcely a bird's twitter broke the silence of

the deep solitude. The only apparent life was vegetable life.

After some slight refreshment under the broad leaves of the bananas in a negro's garden, I exchanged my horse for a gig, and was driven through an open, champaign country, and numerous flourishing estates, into Falmouth. Here Mrs. Underhill rejoined me, and we became the occupants of the mission house—the house of William Knibb.

CHAPTER VII.

Falmouth—Chapel of Mr. Knibb—The Congregation—The Town of Falmouth—Immigration—Competition with Slave Labour—Trelawny Parish—Duncans—The Sugar Mill—Working of Estates—Waldensia—Bunker's Hill—Hastings.

THE next day I occupied the pulpit in Knibb's chapel, and preached to a congregation of about six hundred persons. How much there was to remind me of the great and good man, whose voice had so often been heard within that sanctuary! It was built by his exertions, and stands on the site of the more humble structure which was destroyed by "white" rioters, excited to ungovernable rage in the Insurrection of 1831-2. It is a handsome edifice of brick, with stone facings. The interior is lofty, and the fittings are elegant and neat. The preacher stands in a small gallery projecting from the wall, and entered from a vestry behind. Immediately over him is a large marble tablet, commemorating the achievement of freedom. A bas-relief of Justice with her balance, her right hand resting on a sword at her side, adorns the upper part; and underneath are small medallion portraits of Granville Sharp, Wilberforce, Sturge, and Knibb. An inscription occupies the centre. Another bas-relief

occupies the lower part, representing two negroes in the act of burying a chain and a whip, the emblems of the bondage from which they had escaped; a third holds the Book of God in his hands; while a mother is nursing joyously the child she can now call her own. It is a tasteful and well-executed monument. On each side of the pulpit gallery is a cenotaph to the memory of the two missionaries, Rowe and Mann—the one the first Baptist missionary in the island, the other the founder of the Falmouth church. On the right hand wall is a tablet recording the death of the youthful William Knibb, who enjoyed the warmest affections both of his father and the people. Joy on hearing that some members of the church had manumitted their slaves, brought on an access of fever, which carried the pious boy to his grave.

For some time past the church has been without a pastor; but has been served by Mr. Knibb's son-in-law, the Rev. Ellis Fray. It has greatly declined in numbers since the death of Mr. Knibb, partly from its unsettled state, but chiefly on account of the formation of other congregations in the district whence its membership is drawn. The town of Falmouth contains some three or four thousand inhabitants. It has its Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches, a Methodist Mission Chapel, and a Jewish Synagogue; to the latter of which a considerable portion of the principal inhabitants belong. The Baptist congregation is drawn almost entirely from the surrounding neighbourhood. In the earlier days of Mr. Knibb's

ministry, his labours extended over the entire parish of Trelawny, containing some 7000 slaves. Congregations were soon formed at Stewart Town and Rio Bueno, and at or soon after emancipation others sprang up at Refuge, Kettering, Waldensia, Bethtephil, and Hastings, all of them, in the first instance, drawing their members from the parent community in Falmouth. At the present time, the number of deacons and leaders in the church is thirty; but of classes, less. Some classes have been broken up, on account of the migration of the people, and several of the remainder seldom meet. At the time of Mr. Knibb's decease, in December, 1845, the number of members connected with Falmouth, was estimated at 2300. From the causes mentioned, there are now not more than 450. The congregation has, of course, undergone a similar diminution, and now seldom exceeds 600 persons. The leaders, however, do not think there is less piety, or less regard to the house of God, than in former times. The zeal of the people, if not so ardent, is more intelligent.

It may be doubted whether Mr. Knibb exercised his usual foresight in building so large a chapel in Falmouth. It will hold 1800 persons, and at the time of its erection, and for some years after, was always crowded. But the very measures he took to settle the peasantry on land of their own, when driven from the estates at emancipation, tended to diminish the congregations at Falmouth, and to render inevitable the formation of others in the vicinity of the new settlements. This tendency had become so obvious, that it

was but a few days before his decease that he laid the foundation of a new township at Granville, two or three miles only from Falmouth, in order that a portion of the people might be near enough to ensure a good congregation at the parent chapel.

Falmouth does not exhibit the decayed appearance of Kingston. During the season for exporting sugar, its harbour is sometimes filled with ships. The houses are well built, and the stores display an abundant stock of merchandize. More than one storekeeper informed me, that the retail trade with the black population is a flourishing one, and that in their taste there is a very marked improvement. In the centre of the city is a large tank. The streets are clean and well kept—the effect of convict labour. On visiting the prison, we found that there were left in it only the most incorrigible prisoners. The labour imposed on the convicts, even in the prison, is not very severe. The silent system is enforced. There were fifty names on the books of the prison. One had been incarcerated twenty-five times, and looked more like an idiot than a man of sound mind; and several others from three to five times. In the jail department of the prison were a few lads, confined for larcenies, and one for the practice of Obeah.*

The Marine Hospital is a valuable institution, supported by a small tax on the shipping of the port.

* The average number of prisoners in Falmouth Jail was 65 in 1853; 39 in 1858.

It is a plain wooden structure, close upon the sea, and at the end of the promontory on which Falmouth is built. It contained but one patient. The barracks are close at hand, and from their position on the beach are very healthy. A detachment of one of the West India black regiments occupies them. Overlooking the harbour is a small battery of two guns, and a few more are ranged along the sea-face of the barracks. Falmouth is surrounded partly by the sea, and partly by a swamp; it is kept healthy by the ocean breezes which sweep across it. In very high tides, or heavy rains, the streets and the lower rooms of the houses are often flooded.

A few hours were spent, one morning, in conversation with a leading merchant, who is also a member of the House of Assembly. His opinions differed much from any that I had before met with. He is opposed to immigration of every kind. He thinks that the Government ought to have nothing to do with it; that the question is beyond its province, except so far as it is bound to see to the proper and legal treatment of immigrants, in common with all other classes. He said that the immigrants are obtained by fraudulent representations, that they do not understand the nature of the contract they sign at the port of shipment, and are kept ignorant of the stringent regulations under which they will come in the island It is the interest of the agent abroad to ship as many as possible; hence he is induced to present only the most favourable side to the immigrant. But immigrants

are not really wanted. Labourers are sufficiently abundant when fairly treated and sought for. He further thought, that the Jamaica planter has not yet come face to face into competition with the slave owner, and that when this takes place it will be found that slave labour is cheaper than free. Sugar is produced in Cuba, for instance, at the rate of £8 a ton; in Jamaica it costs more, and cannot be made at so low a rate. To my remark that the Jamaica planter might surely adopt cheaper and more scientific modes of manufacture, he replied, that the Cuban planter is quite as ready, indeed more prompt to avail himself of every improvement. The sugar cane has continued under cultivation in the emancipated islands only because there has been a constantly increasing demand for sugar in the markets of the world; prices have been remunerative even at the present cost of production. Thus Jamaica has never yet come fully into competition with Cuba or Louisiana.

It is quite true that there are planters in Jamaica who produce sugar at a higher cost than it is manufactured in Cuba; the rates mentioned to me varied from £8 to £15 10s. a ton. It is also true that the vast increase in the consumption of sugar throughout the world has more than swallowed up the increased production,* so that free and slave labour have not

* Macculloch estimates the production of cane sugar in tropical countries in 1849, at 930,000 tons; in 1858 it had increased to 1,250,000 tons, besides 230,000 tons of beet-root sugar manufactured in Europe, against 95,500 tons produced in 1849. The consumption of Great Britain has risen from 105,483 tons in 1838, to 424,512 tons in 1858. *Commercial Dictionary, Art. Sugar.*

had to compete in a restricted market. But it is far from clear, that the planter of Jamaica is unable to compete with the slave owner. It is distinctly stated by the British Commissary Judge at the Havana, Mr. Crawford, that the cost of a slave to his owner is in Cuba 8*s.* 10*d.* a day, and that even the Chinese Coolie costs his employer 3*s.* 3*d.* a day; and from the facts that were mentioned to me by a Cuban planter during my brief stay at the Havana, I am persuaded that Mr. Crawford's estimate is correct. On the contrary, the highest wages in the West Indies for agricultural labour do not reach to the smaller of these sums, while in Jamaica they average not more than one shilling a day. Then, land is cheaper in Jamaica than in Cuba, and capital may be obtained at much lower rates. But the circumstances that enable Cuba to maintain herself in the competition with free labour, are the great fertility and abundance of her virgin soil, as well as the demand for sugar in the markets of the world. The soil of Jamaica has long been exhausted, requires manure to quicken its fertility and increased skill in the cultivation. But Cuba possesses vast tracts of land never yet submitted to the hoe, while her average produce is four hogsheads an acre to one in Jamaica. In this fertility she enjoys an advantage more than sufficient to counterbalance the fearful cost of life and treasure involved in sugar culture by the slave.

On the question of immigration, there can be no doubt that many of the remarks of this gentleman are true.

The immigrants introduced, whether Europeans, Africans, or Coolies, were in many cases entrapped; and when settled in Jamaica were cruelly treated. If it be asked what has become of the 17,800 immigrants introduced between 1834 and 1858, the answer must be one highly condemnatory of the system pursued. The best authorities I could consult do not venture to say that more than fifteen hundred Coolies remain in the island. About the same number returned to their native country. A considerable number of the Africans have been absorbed in the population, and a few Europeans remain in various parts of the island, obtaining a precarious living as growers of ginger, maize, coffee, and other productions of the soil. But the far larger part of the immigrants perished, either through the diseases of the climate, or from neglect. It remains to be seen whether the stringent provisions of the new immigration law, will secure the health and the life of the immigrants now being introduced into the island.

It cannot be said, as in the case of Trinidad, that the actual extent of sugar cultivation requires immigrants to carry it on, nor even that there is a want of labourers to extend it, even if it be granted that there is a sufficient number for the immediate demand. There cannot be less than one hundred and fifty thousand agricultural labourers in Jamaica, and of these not more than thirty thousand are required to produce the present quantity of sugar exported. There is therefore available an immense fund of labour, not now drawn upon. This is not denied. It is admitted by the planters themselves, that in some

parts of the island there is a sufficiency of labour, and the want of immigrants is stated to arise only from the capriciousness of the supply.* It does not, however, seem to strike the planters, that the absence of "continuous labour" is not altogether owing to the love of the negro for land of his own and to its cheapness. It is well-known that any increase in the rate of wages, with a certainty of being fairly and regularly paid, immediately attracts a multitude of applicants. But the planters do not offer continuous labour, and are in the habit of dismissing their labourers on the slightest interruption, especially during the latter part of the year, when the cane requires only hoeing, trashing, and other light occupations, in which they largely employ women and children only. Were the wages more adequate to the growing wants of the Creole Negro, and the work more regular and constant, there can be no doubt that large numbers of the young people who possess no land might be attracted to the estates.

It may further be questioned whether the cost of the

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* The planters of Westmoreland thus addressed Governor Darling, in 1859:—"We have experienced distressing want of continuous labour during the present crop, and are still more assured of the fact of an every-day withdrawal of the present population from the sugar estates. We find no fault with this circumstance, which is the natural consequence of the easy acquisition of land. We only seek to remedy it, and are willing to do so at our own cost. We have heard that a like demand for immigrants has not been made throughout the island. But your Excellency is quite aware of the diversity which exists arising from irregular seasons, from inaptitude in some soils to the cultivation of provisions, and from other causes which throw labour in some portions of the island at the command of the sugar estates."

immigrants to the planter, does not exceed any fair increase in the amount of wages which might be given to secure the labour of the Creole. Not only are the planters bound to give the Coolies the current rate of wages, but they have to provide houses and medical attendance for them, to pay a portion of their passage money, and to keep them all the year round. Besides this, they have to raise £5,800 a year for interest and repayment of former immigration loans, which sum is raised by a tax on the sugar exported.* Now to the Creole they have to give nothing beyond the current rate of wages, and he is acknowledged to be by far the most profitable labourer of the two. I cannot but think that a higher rate of wages to the negro would every way be cheaper than schemes of immigration, which impose fresh taxes on produce, involve the island in debt, and practically give higher wages to an inferior labourer.

On the other hand immigration stimulates production, it tends to increase the cultivation of the staples, and it brings into the island more mouths to feed. It is very essential to the improvement of the Creole, and his progress in civilization, that exportable produce should more largely be raised; and any scheme that increases the employment and expenditure of capital, must be beneficial in a material sense to the people. I do not believe that immigration will injure the Creole in this

* The debt for immigration purposes was in 1860, £43,125, and the interest and sinking fund drew £5,822 from the island revenue. About £200,000 have been spent in abortive immigration schemes between 1837 and 1859.

respect. It may drive him to the land; he may become a cottier, or small farmer, and for many years there will be an abundance of land on which he can settle; he may even become a grower of the staples himself. The extension of cultivation would open to him new sources of wealth, in the various handicraft employments that increased trade would call into being.

In all this the enfranchised Negro will but add to his comfort and his means. Immigration is far more likely to be injurious to the planter than to him. The chief drawback to the advantages immigration would confer on him, is the probable introduction of the vices and superstitions of heathenism, which Coolies from the east would bring with them. Even this might partially be remedied, if the planters would introduce with the immigrants a fair proportion of females; exclude from their estates those incentives to immorality which are either connived at or sanctioned by so many, and place the Coolies under religious instruction.

Trelawny parish does not seem to have suffered to the same extent as some other parishes by the throwing up of estates. In 1844, there were eighty-seven estates under cultivation, and in 1853, sixty-seven. But in St. Ann's, its neighbour to the east, the diminution was fron thirty-two in 1844, to fourteen in 1853; in St. James', on the west, it was from seventy-four to fifty-seven. Trelawny is the most populous parish in the island, and here the struggle with the free labourer to reduce his wages to the lowest point was the most bitter. Even now the proprietors of land exhibit the greatest

reluctance to sell or let land to the people, and have discouraged the formation of villages on or near their estates. Yet to the settlements formed by Mr. Knibb, planters freely admit they are indebted for the continued working of their estates. Such are the settlements at Refuge and Kettering, at Hoby Town and Hastings, where the planters have found a supply of labour near at hand. Up to 1842, upwards of £20,000 had been expended by the enfranchised peasantry in the purchase of land and erection of houses.* Several of these I visited. They may fairly be compared with any English agricultural village, while the people generally live in greater comfort, and possess more of the material advantages of life. One of the most flourishing of the native villages is Duncans, about four miles eastward from Falmouth. Kettering township, purchased and settled by Mr. Knibb, forms the northern side of it. The village was indeed formed before emancipation, but its prosperity dates from that era, and it is now one of the most flourishing towns in the interior. It has an excellent weekly market, which is attended by peasants from the mountains in large numbers. Five head of cattle are slaughtered every week, and the meat finds a ready sale. My informant could give me no idea of the number of pigs killed; but he said that a few years ago it was difficult to find purchasers for the meat.

* In a speech at Norwich, on the 7th June, 1845, Mr. Knibb stated that since emancipation there had been formed in Trelawny, up to that date, 23 free villages, and 1590 houses had been built. *Life, p.* 487.

The seller usually had to seek for buyers before he ventured to kill; but now, there is not enough killed to meet the demand.

Before leaving the parish of Trelawny, visits were paid to the stations at Waldensia, Unity, Bethtephil, and Hastings. Our rides through the estates were interesting, and the scenery was often very beautiful. On one estate we found the mill "about," as working is called, and by the kindness of the attorney were permitted to inspect it. The mill for crushing the cane consisted of three upright iron cylinders, driven by a powerful water wheel on the river Martha Brae. The mill was on one side of the river, and the boiling-house on the other, to which the cane juice was conducted by a long series of gutters. Here the juice enters large vats, where it is mixed with lime to purify it. The largest vat holds 500 gallons. At the early part of the season it is calculated that it will take 2000 gallons of cane juice to make one hogshead of sugar; later, 1500 gallons will suffice. From the vats the juice is conducted to a series of four or five pans to be boiled, each pan increasing in heat, till being sufficiently boiled and freed from scum and dregs, it is thrown with copper scoops into a channel or gutter, which conveys it to cooling troughs, holding a hogshead each. Here it crystallizes, and when sufficiently cool, the sugar is taken into the curing-house, filled into the hogsheads, and left to drain, the molasses falling into a reservoir. This, with the dregs of the pans, is conveyed to the still-house, and manufactured into rum. The mill yard was a busy place.

The throwing down the cane from the carts as they came in from the fields, amid the shoutings of the drivers, the women with abundant clatter hurrying with the bundles to the mill, or carrying away the megass, as the cane after the extraction of the juice is called, presented a very amusing, as well as active scene. Nearly every individual, man, woman, girl, or boy, had a piece of cane in his mouth.

The overseer told us that this estate usually made one hundred and twenty hogsheads of sugar a year, and that it costs £12 a ton, irrespective of the salaries of the attorney and overseer, or interest of capital. The work is done almost entirely by the job or task. Labour is abundant, except at the time when the people's provision grounds require their attention. He had no complaint to make of the labourers. They worked very well. He had a "pickaninney" gang, and liked children, as they worked lightly in clearing the cane, and wrought more cheerfully than adults.

The attorney informed us that he had been a sugar manufacturer for twenty years. He had tried the new methods, but liked the old way the best, the way he had long been accustomed to. But the overseer said that sugar could be manufactured at a cheaper rate with improved machinery, with a horizontal mill and steam, for instance, than with a vertical one and water power only. Subsequently the attorney assured us, that after an experience of thirty-eight years, during which time he had known the negroes of Jamaica both as slaves and as free men, he could confidently affirm, that there was

not a better labourer in the world than the Creole negro; he preferred him far beyond the Coolie, with whom he wished to have nothing to do. When referring to the expenses of the manufacture, the attorney named £10 a ton as the probable cost of the sugar. But if £10 be reckoned for each puncheon of rum that is made, then at these rates all the expenses of the estate would be more than met, including attorney, overseer, commissions, interest on capital, and loans. All beyond would be clear profit to the proprietor. He had no doubt that estates were better and more profitably worked where the proprietor is resident. He did not know a single estate managed by a resident proprietor which did not pay. Sugar now returns so good a profit that he would invest all he possessed in the purchase of land; but he thought it doubtful whether the present area of cultivation could be extended. For although there is labour enough at command for the present estates, the population is fully employed, and cannot be obtained for new ones. The people do not always act wisely for their own interests. They necessarily earn less when water is short, for the mill is either stopped, or must work very slowly; but they are unwilling to submit to any diminution in the number employed. Thus there are fifteen persons in the mill; threepence is given to everyone for each syphon filled; but when the water falls short, though a less number could accomplish the work, they will all remain, and divide the smaller earnings. They have an idea that a mill of a certain capacity must have so many

hands to work it, whether it grinds one or five hogsheads in a day.

At another estate, also situated on the Martha Brae river, we found the overseer busy superintending the erection of a horizontal iron mill, to be worked by water or steam as occasion required. He stated that he usually had a sufficient supply of labourers, except at the time when the provision grounds needed culture. He considered that the provision grounds, if of good soil, are worth £30, or even £40, an acre to the labourer. He mentioned that a planter of his acquaintance once made £60 from an acre of land planted with yams. The price of yams at that time was 12*s.* a cwt. This extraordinary gain is of course unusual; it was an experiment, carefully conducted, to test the fertility of the soil, and the value of the grounds to the people. He made one hundred and fourteen hogsheads last year, and hoped to increase the quantity this. The cost of production was £10 a ton, not including the salaries of attorney and overseer, interest of capital, and stores from England.

The ride to Waldensia was along the banks of the Martha Brae, under the shade of clumps of graceful bamboos, and over a rocky hill, the pathway of which was so precipitous and broken as to make me dismount. We passed through one or two settlements lying in the hollows, and under the steep cliffs of the hills. Hoby Town, one of them, contains many very neat and well-built dwellings, but nearly all hidden by the plantain and mango-trees about them. After some refreshment

at the Mission-House, we returned home through other estates, all bearing the same general aspect as those already referred to.*

Our esteemed missionary, Mr. Gould, at the time of our visit, was occupying the house on the estate known as Bunker's Hill, now partially settled by the people, and partially occupied as a penn. In the old mill-house below we held an interesting service, to celebrate the laying the foundation stone of a new chapel. The heavy rain prevented its being held on the spot where the erection is to take place, about half-a-mile off. Beyond is the estate of Dromilly, rendered famous in the Maroon war of 1795, by being the stronghold of the refugees, who occupied the ravines and hollows which abound in the hills that encircle it. The estate contains about 400 acres, and was lately sold for £450. The purchasers found on the estate building materials and timber sufficient to pay for it. Beyond Dromilly is the settlement of Hastings, forming quite a considerable town, and the locality of a large weekly market. A chapel has been for some time building. It wanted both the floor and windows; the people, under the direction of their energetic minister, the Rev. G. R. Henderson, proceeding with it as they are able, but always avoiding debt. One of the deacons, whom I met, I found to be a

* Waldensia township was purchased by Mr. Knibb in 1839, and the land disposed of, in suitable lots, to about 140 persons. It was named Hoby Town, after my esteemed friend, Dr. Hoby. The chapel is about a mile from the village.

very intelligent man, and a grower of sugar. He showed us his mill, a wooden one. Increasing age, he said, made him less able than in years past to manufacture so much as he desired.

CHAPTER VIII.

Parish of St. James—Sudbury—The Old Ranger—His Notions of the State of the Island—Labours of Mr. Burchell—Moses Baker—Commencement of the Mission—Montego Bay—State of the Churches—Irwin Hill Moravian Station—Salters' Hill and Maldon—Commemoration of Mr. Dendy's Pastorate—Reminiscences—Mount Carey—Conference with Deacons and Leaders—The Churches—Religious State—Temporal Condition of the People—Causes of Irregularity of Labour—Visits to Estates—Absence of Generous Feeling.

HAVING completed our inquiries in the parish of Trelawny, Mrs. Underhill and I set out for Montego Bay, in St. James's parish: Mr. Brown remained over the Sabbath, in order to preach at Hastings. With a boy on horseback as our guide, we started early from Bunker's Hill, having to drive some twenty-two miles to Montego Bay. The early part of the road was among the hills; but we soon came into an open country, well planted, and under cultivation. In one place the road conducted us along a beautiful avenue, formed by clumps of bamboos, the feathery foliage of which, while affording a perfect protection from the sun, by its lightness of colour and graceful forms, did not give that aspect of gloom that groves of timber trees produce.

About eight miles from Montego Bay, at a hamlet named Sudbury, we came to a well-built school-house,

occupied by a school supported by the Rev. Walter Dendy, of Salters' Hill. Being Saturday, master, scholars, and villagers, were all gone to market, so that we had some difficulty in obtaining food and shelter for our horses. A shrewd and chatty friend presented himself in a small storekeeper, whose shop, or store, was on the roadside. He was formerly a ranger on an estate close by. His statements were very characteristic of the course which things have taken in Jamaica.

Thus, one estate was "let down" by the attorney who had it in charge, until its produce dwindled from nearly a hundred hogsheads of sugar a year to twenty. Four years ago it was bought by a resident gentleman, a magistrate, and now makes its eighty hogsheads, with the prospect of indefinite increase.

Several estates were let by attornies, at low rents, to parties who seem to have had no other intention than to devastate the properties. They stript the mills of their machinery, worked out the cane pieces, cut down the timber, destroyed the fruit trees, and having sold everything available, absconded and left Jamaica, or defrauded the proprietors and creditors by passing through the Insolvent Court. Of course the estates were irretrievably ruined. In some instances this was done with the connivance, if not with the participation, of the attorney.

Another good estate now produces only five hogsheads of sugar, and is to be converted into a grazing farm. It is said that the owner, an absentee, is coming out to ascertain the true cause of the depreciation his property has suffered.

Moor Park, on the death of its proprietor, was inherited by his son; as he was unable to cultivate it, it was sold to pay his debts. A portion of it is again being laid down in cane, and the produce crushed at the works of an estate near at hand.

Two estates, the property of a resident proprietor, were purchased by him in a very low condition; both are prosperous under his personal management. During the last three years one of the two made respectively 40, 110, and 100 hogsheads of sugar. The last year was a very dry one, or the produce would have exceeded that of the second year. Every estate in the parish, said my informant, that is in the hands of a resident owner is prosperous. In his opinion, the country had "gone to pieces" simply through bad management.

The old ranger then explained how, in his judgment, this state of things had been brought about. When the slaves were made free, they were a "little obstinate" about wages and their provision grounds, which belonged to the estates; the overseers were a "little obstinate" too, and wished to do as they had been accustomed during slavery. So the overseers pulled down the people's houses, and discharged them. The people having thus become quite free, went to the mountains, obtained land, made themselves independent, and now they won't come back; they do better on their own land than at estate work. A man with three acres of ground can make £2 a week by his provisions, if he is tolerably industrious. A friend of his, who owns five acres of land, made last year £16 by his sugar, and £2 a week

by his bread-kind.* A great many of the people possess sugar mills. In the month of August, the estates are generally cleaned up, and then give but little work till towards Christmas. The best of the people do not work on the estates at all, and the character of those who do, is much worse than it used to be.

Twelve days were spent in the parish of St. James', visiting the Churches, holding conferences with the pastors, deacons, and leaders, and in general inquiries. As Trelawny abounds with proofs of the strenuous and successful missionary exertions of William Knibb, so does St. James' equally testify to the zeal and apostolic labours of Thomas Burchell. Ten thousand converts are said to have been baptized by him during the twenty-two years of his ministry in this parish.† The gospel was first introduced into the district by a free mulatto, of the name of Moses Baker. Like George Liele, of whose Church he was a member, he came from America to Kingston in 1783, where for three years before his conversion, he followed the trade of a barber. Being unsuccessful, he moved into the Liguanea mountains, and became an agricultural labourer. By an old African slave he was led to read the Scriptures, and to the resolution to serve God. Invited by the owner of an estate in St. James', he went thither in February, 1788, to preach among the slaves.

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* Bread-kind is a common term for every kind of farinaceous root, or food.

† Mr. Burchell commenced his ministry at Crooked Spring, St. James', on the 25th January, 1824; he gave his last address at Bethel Town, on the 16th February, 1846. His death took place in England on the following 15th of May. *Memoir, by his Brother, pp.* 51, 386, 398.

He found them imbued with the superstitions of Obeah. Bottles filled with sea-water, horns, old rags, and other like things, were used for the purposes of witchcraft. He taught them the evil of these practices from the Word of God, preached of Christ and the great salvation, and taught the duties of truth and chastity. Some men were found to possess two, four, and even five wives, so called, although no other bond subsisted between them than that of mutual liking. He soon formed a small society, which met at Crooked Spring, a spot near at hand to the present station of Salters' Hill. He adopted the "Covenant" of the Church at Kingston as the rule for his members to walk by. A gentleman, on whose estates Baker had been permitted to labour, recommending him to a friend, in 1802, for a similar purpose, assures his correspondent that this coloured servant of Christ would soon eradicate Obeah from his estate, would introduce no bad customs, would encourage matrimony, and teach a sound morality, with great advantage to the property and the negroes. A small society was also gathered in Montego Bay; but not without considerable interruption, and at times persecution, from ungodly and immoral white men. On one occasion the house where it met was fired into, to the peril of the poor people assembled. At this time (1802) Baker had access to twenty sugar estates, on all of which were members of his Church, or attendants on his ministry.

When Mr. Coultart visited this part of the island in 1822, Moses Baker was quite an old man, and nearly

blind; he went with him to his little chapel, which was crowded to the door, and heard him catechise and exhort. He found him to be neither superstitious nor enthusiastic, and to be held in great estimation by the planters; while the conduct and character of the slaves under his instruction were spoken of in high terms by their masters. Mr. Vaughan, the gentleman under whose patronage he had laboured, as Baker had become very infirm, applied to the Baptist Missionary Society for a person to reside on his estate to instruct his negroes, and at the same time assist in the cultivation. A Mr. Henry Tripp, a carpenter, and a member of East Queen Street church, Kingston, was selected, and recognized as a missionary in 1822. He proceeded to Crooked Spring, but the death of his wife led him, on account of his family, after a short time to return to England. His place was supplied by Mr. Burchell.

Montego Bay was at that time the largest town on the north side of the island, and from the number of its inhabitants, and its destitution of the means of grace, presented an inviting field for missionary labour. Mr. Burchell accordingly fixed his residence there, and shortly after formed a church of twelve members. It was not till six months had elapsed, that the ordinance of baptism was administered for the first time. In order to avoid public observation it took place at four o'clock in the morning, in a small river near the town, and was memorable as exciting the first outbreak of that hostility to the gospel on the part of the planters, which culminated in the destruction of the chapels, in charges of treason and

rebellion against the missionaries, and in threats of assassination, finally driving them into exile, from which they returned to witness the overthrow of slavery, and the jubilant accession of the slave to freedom. Amid all these perils, the work of God expanded on every side, and numerous churches sprang into vigorous existence. When Mr. Burchell landed in the island, the Baptist Missionary Society had not a mission station within a hundred miles of Montego Bay. When freedom dawned he could point to Salter's Hill, Shortwood, Gurney's Mount, Mount Carey, and Bethel Town, as the fruit of his personal labours; to Falmouth, Rio Bueno, Savanna-la-Mar, and Fuller's Field, as the result of the united toil of himself and Mr. Mann. The stations at Lucea and Sandy Bay, in Hanover, were also commenced by him.

Two Baptist churches now exist in Montego Bay, having for their pastors the Rev. J. Reid and the Rev. J. E. Henderson. The church of which Mr. Henderson is pastor, was formed by a secession some years ago from the other, and worships in a house lately purchased, in a room large enough to hold four hundred persons. The congregation worshipping in the noble chapel built by Mr. Burchell on the site of the building destroyed by the infuriated planters in 1832, has consequently been diminished in numbers. Connected with the churches are out-stations at Bass Grove and Watford Hill; and the entire number of members under the pastoral care of the two ministers exceeds one thousand. The town also enjoys the services of four clergymen in two churches, of a minister of the Presbyterian church,

and of a Wesleyan minister. There is also a synagogue for the use of the numerous Jews who live here. I had the pleasure of preaching to a considerable number of them, including the Rabbi, on two occasions, at services held in both the Baptist chapels for the purpose of affording relief to the persecuted Jews of Morocco.

The religious state of the Churches, as described by the leaders, is on the whole satisfactory. The classes are well attended, except in wet weather, and usually meet twice or thrice a week, as well as on Sunday. They think that the piety of the people is more intelligent, indeed it must be so from the spread of education. There is now no Sunday work; swearing and vice have on the whole declined among the general population. The late dry season having materially damaged the ground provisions, especially the coco-yam, which, on account of its being cultivable the whole year round is highly valued, the contributions for the support of the means of grace had much diminished. The answers to our questions on biblical subjects were very intelligent. To the Gospel, they attributed their freedom. "One of the worst days God made on earth," said a deacon, "was the day the first slave was born: freedom is a great blessing, and it is the Gospel that gave it us." They insisted much on the necessity of having, for some time to come, white ministers to teach them; native ministers, in their judgment, are somewhat wanting in solidity and principle. "We are not of age yet, and we must look to England; for we have no help from our fatherland," meaning Africa.

There was a general complaint of the difficulty of controlling the children and young people. This is partly owing to the education they have enjoyed, placing them at a great advantage over their elders who were once slaves. One intelligent man referred the difficulty to the laws; he said, that if a father flog his boy, the boy will appeal to the magistrate, who will often punish the parent; but a greater difficulty springs out of one of the evil effects of slavery, which was thus explained. In slavery no man knew his own children. On emancipation, when marriages were so numerously solemnized, many husbands and wives brought with them into the new relation several children, and others were born to them. Each loved their own, and so a division of interest was created in the family, often increased by the wife keeping her earnings for her own use, each separately striving to provide for the children born in slavery. Time only can cure such evils as this, and the increasing regard for a legal family life will gradually eradicate the mischiefs which slavery has entailed.

Salter's Hill, the station at which the Rev. W. Dendy resides, is about nine miles to the south east of Montego Bay. The road led us into the mountains, passing Irwin Hill on the way, the only station of the Moravians on the north side of the island. Till 1828, the missionary lived on Irwin estate, in the same house with the manager and his assistants. This was found most detrimental to the progress of the Gospel, since the missionary could not restrain the profligacy and excesses which at that period were universally indulged in. Besides which, slaves from other estates would seldom venture to visit

the missionary, lest they should be denounced to their owners. Land was at length obtained on the summit of a hill near at hand, a chapel and Mission House were erected, and a body of converts was speedily gathered. Nearly a thousand persons of all ages now form this Moravian community, under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Lind.

The chapel, school-house, and dwelling of the missionary at Salter's Hill, are built on a lofty eminence, commanding a glorious panorama of the surrounding valleys spotted here and there with the works of sugar estates, and of the sea which divides Jamaica from Cuba. Mr. Dendy has also charge of another congregation at Maldon, ten or twelve miles beyond, formed from the constantly increasing numbers of the people who purchase fertile land in the mountains on which to settle, being constrained to leave the valleys below in consequence of the decay of sugar cultivation. This has greatly affected Salter's Hill congregation. Fourteen estates lying about the base of the hill, from which attendants on public worship were once drawn, have been thrown up, and their labourers scattered. To meet the necessity, a large stone chapel has been erected at Maldon, and more numerous congregations gather there than at the parent spot. For miles around, the hills and dales are dotted with the cottages of the peasantry, engaged in the cultivation of bread-kind, the manufacture of sugar for the local markets, and the growth of minor articles, such as ginger and arrow-root, for exportation. Coffee cultivation also, to a very considerable extent, occupies the attention of the people. Our ride to Maldon was a

very beautiful one. Nearly the whole distance was an ascent, the road winding round the mountains, presenting to us the most charming scenery, sparkling and bright in the sun. In the hollows numerous species of ferns found shelter, and among them the exquisitely elegant tree fern, imitating the comely palm in size, but exceeding it in the light gracefulness of the fronds which crown its lozenge-marked stem. All the way were estates in "ruinate." On one, Kensington, its walls crumbling down, and its works in decay, we gazed with no little interest, for it was the first of the estates of St. James', the conflagation of which ushered in the insurrection of 1831-2. Its blazing buildings could be seen from far, and gave the signal that the rising was begun to seize that freedom which had so long been withheld.

During our visit to his stations, Mr. Dendy commemorated the completion of the twenty-fifth year of his pastorate. He assumed charge of the Church on the 31st January, 1835; but he arrived on the spot in 1832, four days after the chapel, in which one service only had been held, had been destroyed by the infuriated planters. His first service was held within the ruined walls, under the shade of bamboos, cocoa-nut leaves, and branches of trees. The Church was speedily reorganized; one-eighth part of their number was found to have passed from time into eternity, some by a violent death during the dread time which followed the repression of the insurrection. The new sanctuary was completed and dedicated on the Good Friday of the

following year, when not fewer than five thousand persons were computed to have been present. The changed circumstance of the locality did not allow such a gathering as this at the time of our visit; still the large chapel was well filled. Besides the Churches at Bethtephil and Bethsalem, which have sprung out of Mr. Dendy's ministry, the Church at Salter's Hill and Maldon, contains at the present time upwards of seven hundred members. Mr. Dendy has laboured very assiduously to educate the young, both in Sunday and Day Schools. Of the latter there are five, in different parts of the district, with an average attendance of 226 children. In the quarter of a century, not fewer than 2658 children have passed through the schools; and the result is seen in the gratifying fact, that while in the district embraced by Mr, Dendy's labours, containing upwards of five thousand people, at the time of his settlement there were only three persons that could read; by an accurate inquiry made in 1856, it was found that 1661 had acquired the ability to do so.*

In 1842, the Church was sorely tried by an outbreak

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* The fondness of my excellent friend, Mr. Dendy, for statistical studies, enables me to present the following very interesting figures, strikingly illustrative of the progress that the people have made since emancipation. They are the result of inquiries made in May, 1856, at Salter's Hill and Maldon:—

Number of houses	1451	Number of houses with Bibles..	880
,, inhabitants	5635	,, individuals ,, ..	1786
,, married couples	620	,, Children in day schools	525
,, unmarried ,, ..	322	,, ,, in Sunday ,,	997
,, members of churches	1108	,, families attending public worship ..	856
,, excluded members	410	,, ditto not attending	595
,, inquirers	291		
,, readers	1661		

of wild fanaticism. It spread through the estates with great rapidity, the people leaving work and abandoning themselves to the terrors and the practice of witchcraft. One Sunday it reached a most extravagant height. The worship of God was interrupted, and the chapel became the scene of the most ungovernable agitation and excitement. It extended to the Moravian Station at Irwin Hill, and the Presbyterian congregation at Hampden. It infected all classes and all ages. It was finally suppressed by the infliction of fines and imprisonment on the leaders, Obeah practices being a contravention of the laws of the island.

In the course of the public meeting, the senior deacon, an old man 76 years of age, gave us some reminiscences of former days. He is highly esteemed both by pastor and people, having "used the office of a deacon well, and purchased to himself a good degree, and great boldness in the faith." He said that it was twenty-eight years ago since the first chapel was built. That was burnt down in the insurrection. Then "our Zion was destroyed." At that time they only dared to have "just a little prayer meeting at Montego Bay." Only free men ventured to go openly. "We," meaning the slaves, "were then hiding, dodging, and no more prayer was to be made. Our old building was ruinate." We began work again, and our pastor here came, now twenty-five years ago. "We now have our own liberty, we have church, we have a pastor; for so long a time that he preach the gospel to us, we ought to be very glad." "They say now, all the Church is mashed up,

all the people are going to ruin. These brethren are come to see if it be true that Jamaica is so low. Many faults have been found; but I don't think it is all true. If we have no church, no missionary, it is likely Jamaica would have been ruined." "They say we don't work. I'se not in sugar district now; but I work honestly. But we get not our pay, something or other must be cut off. I don't go to work, when I cannot get my pay honestly." (This remark was received with a loud shout of approbation.) "I think proprietor in England send money; but it not paid we honestly. One lose sixpence, one a shilling; where does that go? We are poor enough; but not even the poorest will sit down under the mango tree. If we be Christians, if we be religious, we must work, we must labour, we must not let be so much jaw about us. Jamaica does not stand upright in its place yet." "We know more about Jesus Christ now than when we slave. We did not have the Bible. In slave time, would minister dare write busha (overseer) and say there will be a great meeting at Salter's Hill? None could go; but now we say we will go; we free to go; I must go to God's house." In this last sentence, the old man referred to a practice, now very common in crop time, for the ministers to write to the managers of estates to inquire whether it will be convenient to them to spare their labourers, if some special service is about to be held.

Another of the deacons, who addressed us in a similar strain, had also been a slave. He survived the infliction of five hundred lashes, under which several others died,

at the time of the insurrection. For a year after he was unable to wear a shirt.

With regard to the interests of piety and morality, we had every assurance that the people are alive to the necessity of improvement. They strongly insisted on their desire to see the church filled with "good people" only, and that they "must" have good proof that those who seek for membership do not live in sin, that they attend the means of grace, and love Christ. If many are still much below the standard of personal piety and civilization that we desire to see them attain, nevertheless their progress since freedom is most gratifying, and that under circumstances in many respects adverse to their improvement. The capacity is there; it needs but time and cultivation to restore those bright days, when the African Church gave to the christian world its Tertullians, its Cyprians, and its Augustines.

We next visited the stations under the charge of our hospitable friend, the Rev. E. Hewett. They lie in the mountains to the south of Montego Bay. They were established by the Rev. Thomas Burchell, who during the last years of his ministry lived at Mount Carey, the first one we reached from "The Bay." The road out of the town ran westward through sugar estates in full operation, and a plantation of cocoa-nut trees, for the fruit of which a demand has sprung up in America; then turning to the south ascended the mountains. Mount Carey chapel stands on an eminence surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills, and opposite to it is a settlement of the enfranchised people. The Mission

House is close by on another elevation. The chapel is a plain but substantial stone structure, calculated to hold a thousand persons. A handsome marble obelisk stands in the centre of it, sacred to the memory of the first pastor and minister. The Lord's-day service, at which I was present, was a very interesting one. The chapel was full, but the people came very late, for the Creoles of Jamaica have but little notion of time, and are painfully wanting in the virtue of punctuality. The service began with the reading of the ten commandments in alternate verses by the minister and the people; then a psalm was read; an exposition followed which lasted half an hour; then prayer, a hymn, and the sermon. After a short interval, the Lord's Supper was administered to about three hundred communicants. During the time occupied in the distribution of the bread and wine, portions of hymns were sung; in this respect only departing from the practice of English churches. The time occupied by the entire service in the middle of the day was about three hours; not too long, as owing to the distances the people have to come, only one service can be held. In the early morning and in the evening, however, most of the people meet for worship in the class houses which are built in the various settlements. Nothing could exceed the devoutness, order, and decorum of the congregation, and it may be taken as a fair example of the services throughout the island. Subsequently visits were paid to Shortwood and Bethel Town, which lie beyond Mount Carey, the latter place being in the mountains of Westmoreland.

A long morning was spent in conference with the deacons and leaders of the three Churches; they contain over fourteen hundred members. Forty of these brethren met us, and among them were individuals the most intelligent black men we had met in the island. They reported generally, that owing to the events of late years, the people had become much scattered about the mountains, so that the attendance at the class houses and public services in the chapels was not so good as they could desire. Gatherings of families for worship had sprung up in some settlements where no chapel exists. The young people came to worship with tolerable regularity. The Bible was their text book. "Our minister," said one, "teaches us from the Bible, and we go by that. We must pray from the Bible, and from our own feelings; not from a Prayer Book. In our class meetings we talk of Christ, of salvation, and of what we read out of scripture." Earnest attention is given to backsliders, and white persons are not passed by in their endeavours to save souls. They thought that the young do not so well sustain the means of grace as did the old people, who had felt the burden of slavery. But they explained that this could hardly be expected, as more money is required to build houses, to purchase clothes, and to pay taxes. Besides which, wages are much lower than they were some years ago, and habits have been acquired since they were free which demand a greater expenditure upon themselves. They preferred, on the whole, a white minister, because he could exercise more

authority, and act in all matters of difficulty with more decision. In no case would they receive grants of money from Government for religious purposes; they would then have to do what the Government bade them. This would not be right. The discipline of the churches is well maintained. For this and other matters affecting the welfare of the church, they have a meeting with the minister every week, and a meeting of the church once a month.

From this and similar interviews with the leaders of the churches in the parish of St. James', the following impressions were produced on my mind as to the state of religion among them. Since the time immediately succeeding the era of freedom, there has been a gradual decline in numbers and regularity of attendance on the means of grace; the anxiety and care consequent on the necessity of seeking a livelihood, have preoccupied the minds of the people, to the diminution of that vivid interest in religion which was then felt and displayed. The churches have, however, been purged of many unworthy members, and a higher degree of knowledge is required in all candidates for admission to the ordinances of Christ. If there is less emotion, there is to a certain extent more intelligent conviction. Piety has been tested by other influences, which are often more fatal than persecution—ease, prosperity, and liberty; it has borne the trial well; and if the number of professed Christians be less, there is greater stability in the remainder, and a firmer hold of the elements of a godly life.

Many interesting statements were made to us relative to the temporal condition of the people of this populous parish. Among our informants were a few black men who had successfully struggled into comparative independence. One is the owner of some hundreds of acres of land, and a considerable breeder of horses. Another manufactured last year eighty barrels of sugar, and was expecting a larger crop the ensuing one. Another is a butcher in Montego Bay. He kills on an average eight steer a week, besides pigs and kids, and his outlay for cattle averages for the last ten years £5000 a year. All these men were slaves previous to 1838. The latter gave us a very graphic account of his life as a slave. He was an energetic man then, and not unfrequently exposed himself to the wrath of the overseer by his bold resistance to the tyranny exercised over him. Once his hands were tied to two trees, and the scourging he received left him insensible for five hours. At the insurrection his life was sworn against; but he escaped through the breaking down of the evidence.

Another of the leaders said that he possessed ten acres of land, and reckoned the annual value of the produce of that portion he cultivated, to be at least £12 an acre. A part was always left to lie fallow. One year he made nineteen barrels of sugar. He had not worked on an estate since he was free.

A deacon, now employed as a road surveyor, was formerly a household slave. One evening, while lying on the floor asleep from sheer fatigue, waiting the

summons of his master to give supper to the guests, he was suddenly roused by a kick. With one hand his master forced up his eyelid, and with the other dropped wax from the burning light into the slave's eye. This wanton act of cruelty of course blinded the poor fellow for life; but we could discover no trace of vindictive feeling against the brute that was guilty of it.

From these and other such men, we learned that there are very few in the parish of St. James' who do not possess several acres of land. Thus one leader owns twenty-six acres, another eighteen, another three and rents three more; while a few are rising into the position of substantial yeomen, for one was just completing the purchase of six hundred acres. Of seventy-seven deacons and leaders to whom we put the question, only sixteen are now accustomed to go to the estates to work. One man, who had made eight or ten barrels of sugar a year for several years past, and hopes this year to make sixteen, said, that he had not worked on an estate for twenty years, nor would he work for any man for one shilling a day. Another was driven from an estate, in 1845, because he was a leader and a Baptist. It was done to get rid of Baptist influence. People, he said, who were thus turned adrift, were obliged to work for themselves. It was generally agreed that the planters now get only the unsettled and worst part of the population to work for them, and such persons justify the complaints of idleness, deception, and wickedness, made by their employers; the best of the people keep to their own grounds. That they are not idle is seen

from this, that all the masonry, carpentry, and mechanical work of the estates, is done by the peasantry; who also manufacture the sugar and rum, and make the hogsheads and puncheons to receive it.

A superintendent of labourers on an estate, who was present, said, that his wages were only 1*s.* 3*d.* a day; but he had a house and provision grounds rent free. It is true that the planters cannot get all the labour they want, because the people either prefer to work their own land, or because the wages are inadequate. Were higher wages paid, more labour could be obtained. He had known one estate to lose its crop, because the time of cutting was the same as that required by the people for their own plantations. But where the people are regularly paid, and not capriciously discharged, there is never any want of labourers.

The irregularity of estates' work is a great cause of fluctuation in the supply of labour. Planters want to have labourers at their command at any moment, and to discharge them when they please. Every estate where the pay is irregular and the treatment unfair, is sure to want for labour. Many estates belonging to absentee proprietors have been ruined by the attorneys and overseers, and by expensive modes of management; but the estate of every resident proprietor in the parish, is in a prosperous condition.

One man argued, in very broken English, that the planters had taken every opportunity to lower wages, and had never increased them; that, in consequence, the people were either very poor, or were obliged to

obtain provision grounds for their support. It was not their fault if estates fell into decay, or labourers were not always forthcoming when they were wanted. They were justified in looking suspiciously upon the planters' offers by the tricks that were played them. Thus, a year or two ago, the occupiers of an estate sent round the country that they wanted a large number of men to put in a piece of cane in one week, for which good wages would be paid. Large gangs were collected, and the work was done; but they were never paid for it. It was a mere trick. In due time, the unworthy men that practised it became insolvent, and for the labourers there was no remedy. Another showed us a chain which had just been bought from the overseer of a neighbouring estate. It was found to be six feet too long; yet by this chain the work of the estate had been measured and paid. As we left one of the meetings, a notice was put into our hands that was served the day before on a labourer by the overseer of the estate on which he both lived and worked, to give up his cottage and provision grounds on the 1st August; and this because the man had gone to work on another estate, while no work was ready for him on the one where he lived.*

* In another parish, two planters informed one of the deputation that an overseer had lately absconded with the moneys entrusted to him to pay his labourers. The attorney, whose servant the overseer was, now refused to pay the labourers at all, on the plea that he had sent the money once, and it was no fault of his if they did not get it. The two planters complained that such conduct brought the whole body into disrepute, and that it would injuriously affect the supply of labour for a long time.

There can be no question of the truthfulness of these statements, and they afford a satisfactory clue to the contradictory representations which have been so numerous on the questions involved in them. The population of St. James' is estimated at 28,000, and the number of sugar estates in operation at 57; so that there ought not to be any lack of labourers for the wants of the planters. Deducting one half for women, children, and old people, there are ten or twelve thousand individuals who might be available, but for the circumstances referred to above. The actual number employed does not probably exceed 3000. Some were going at the time of our visit into Westmoreland for work.

Some estates were visited in this neighbourhood, by the proprietors of which we were freely furnished with information. One estate, the property of a resident merchant, had been purchased about four years ago, in very bad condition. Its works were burnt down at the time of the Insurrection, in 1831. The British Government advanced money to rebuild them, but the proprietor being unable to meet his engagements, was obliged to sell the property, to repay the mortgage. Since the renewal of cultivation by the present owner, the produce has been as follows:—1st year, 19 hogsheads of sugar; 2nd year, 100 hogsheads; 3rd year, 96 hogsheads; in this year, the fourth, 140 hogsheads were anticipated, and rum in proportion. We found the estate in fine order, and the machinery good. The power was derived from a water-wheel, and the crushing mill was an iron horizontal one, of three cylinders. Both the proprietor

and overseer assured me that they have a sufficiency of labour, chiefly owing to the close proximity of a native settlement. The people pay a fair rent for their holdings; but are not bound to work on the estate. Still the overseer is sometimes at a loss for labourers for the lighter work, such as grass cutting, cleaning the cane, and trashing. There are always plenty of persons ready to work in the mill, which is the hardest work on the estate; cane-hole digging is also eagerly sought after. In such mills as have good machinery, the supply of labour is abundant. The better the machinery, the more money can be earned; because the quantity of sugar made is greater in the same time, and the remuneration is regulated by the quantity. All this work is piece work, and is the best paid on the estate; hence the readiness of the labourers to undertake it.

Wages are paid every week in full, so that disputes are very rare. A few Coolies would be useful to do the lighter work, and to be at command for any contingency; for the black people are uncertain. Improvements have chiefly been confined to the manufacture of sugar. Agriculture remains almost stationary. The plough is not much used in this district, partly because it tries the cattle too much, partly that good ploughmen are not easily found. If rain fall during the day, so as to hinder the work, the pay is diminished accordingly, at the rate of three-halfpence an hour. On an estate like this, where the work is done by task, or by the job, such deductions are not required. In the judgment of the overseer, one Creole Negro can do quite as much as two Coolies. Work

is not equally abundant throughout the year; in crop time, which may last four or five months, one hundred and twenty persons are employed; at other seasons, not more than eighty.

Of another estate, the following particulars were given me by the overseer. Last year he made 147 hogsheads of sugar, and 110 puncheons of rum. The sum spent in wages was £1400. He drew on the proprietor, an absentee, £3000; but during the year, the buildings were new shingled, and a new boiler put in. With these exceptions, nothing had been spent on the works since freedom. If it be assumed that an average of £17 was obtained for each hogshead of sugar and puncheon of rum, the entire return would be £4369. Allowing £500 for stores sent from England, and repairs, the net profit would be £869, a profit of 20 per cent. To a resident proprietor this would be a handsome return; but it is not enough to cover the expences of agency, commissions, attorney, and the swarm of charges which fall upon an absentee.

Another estate we visited while in Montego Bay, though lying in Hanover parish, may be mentioned in this connection. The present owner, who resides upon it, inherited it from an uncle, who came to Jamaica in slave time as a poor boy. He died the proprietor of five estates, of which the one we visited is the chief. Even in these days of depressed value, the proprietor told us that he would not sell it, with its machinery and stock, for £40,000. The works are of the first class. The powerful horizontal mill is worked by steam. The

megass, that is the refuse cane from the mill after the juice is pressed from it, is carried away on a tram-road. In the boiling-house are two sets of boilers, also two sets of steam boiling apparatus; and in other parts of the works are numerous inventions to economise labour. The people at work were fewer than we had seen in any other mill, and we were much struck with the order and quietness which reigned throughout. Between three and four hundred hogsheads of sugar are manufactured annually, and the usual proportion of rum. The proprietor said that he had no difficulty in carrying on his cultivation. He pays regularly and fairly, and deals kindly with his people, who for the most part reside on the estate. This is owing to the wise and considerate conduct of his predecessor, who, at the time of emancipation, instead of driving his negroes away, or imposing onerous charges for rent, built them cottages, and allowed them provision grounds free of charge. This continues to the present day. The work people of the estate live rent free, cultivate as much provision ground as they like, and receive the ordinary rate of wages. Of course they are required to work on the estate. These advantages render their remuneration practically higher than that prevailing in the district; the people are therefore satisfied, and their labour is willingly rendered. Among the labourers are a few African immigrants, who are deemed the best workmen on the property. The proprietor sustains a schoolmaster for the instruction of the young, but we were sorry to learn that but few of the people are attendants on public worship.

One very important fact was elicited in the course of these inquiries, and which was confirmed by both planters and overseers to whom the question was put:—that in dealing with the Creole labourers, if there was any small advantage to be gained, if there was ever so slight a turn in the scale, it always went against the working people. There are exceptions to this; the last estate mentioned is an exception; but the almost entire absence of generous feeling is a most striking fact in the relations existing between the employer and the employed. As a general statement, I believe it is true throughout the island, that the negro can expect nothing from his employer* beyond the barest justice. If he get that, he deems himself well-treated. We missed everywhere the exhibition of those kindly offices which bind the various classes together in a rightly-ordered community. Cases were told us of hard-heartedness, of neglect of old servants, of reckless indifference to the commonest feelings of humanity, that were most painful. The production of sugar is carried on too frequently with a perfect contempt of the best interests of the people, the grossest immoralities are allowed to exist unchecked, and if the human machine will only work with the regularity and efficiency of the soulless engine, the planter is content. There are honourable exceptions, but such was the *general* impression which a survey of the system as a whole produced on my mind.

* I was about to use the word master here; but am reminded of an incident which may illustrate a common feeling among the people. Our coachman was one day very indignant with a gentleman who referred to me as his "master." I was not his master, he said, but his "employer."

CHAPTER IX.

Parish of Hanover—Mount Peto—Sandy Bay—Lucea—The Negro Yeoman—Produce of Hanover—Its Industrial Condition—Its Peasantry—Their Holdings—Value of their Produce—Condition of the People—Diminution of Sugar Cultivation—Population of Jamaica—Property of the People—Their Earnings—Value of their Labour—Creole Negroes not an Idle Race—Westmoreland—Morality of Sugar Cultivation—Savanna-la-Mar—Return to Montego Bay.

THE deputation next visited the stations in the parish of Hanover. The route led us first to Mount Peto and Gurney's Mount, the stations of the Rev. C. Sibley. On our way we visited a fine penn at Knockalva, the property of a Scotch gentleman, and were shown a magnificent prize ox, weighing some 1600 lbs., that would have done honour to the Christmas Show of the Smithfield Cattle Club. The road passed estates both ruinate and cultivated, lying among rounded hills. At Mount Peto the people assemble in a small house, but are about to build a chapel, for which purpose they had bought the materials of the ruined mill-house of an estate near at hand. We met them in large numbers, occupying both the house and a shed built outside to protect the hearers from the sun. Some of their expressions were very interesting. Said one, "I remember when religion come; we obliged to *tief* (thieve) it. Then we have three nights' sleep, and three nights to

go watch for Gospel." Referring to Mr. Knibb, another said that he was a "blessed man; blessed be to him who bring freedom to Jamaica.—Him go to glory in heaven." Said another, "The Gospel all my hope, my food; when I received it, a happy, glorious day." With very hearty farewells we hastened on, as night was falling, to Gurney's Mount. The chapel and Mission-House are built on the summit of a very lofty mountain, commanding glorious views of the sea to the north, and of the billow-like hills and mountains of which it forms a part.

Leaving Mr. Brown here for the Lord's-day services, I proceeded the next day, February 10th, to Sandy Bay, a small village lying on the beach below the mountains; and after a few hours intercourse with the people, who gathered in large numbers, exceedingly well dressed, in their neat and new brick chapel, I started in a boat for Lucea, the ten miles being rowed by two men, having in view the conspicuous mountain summit, known as the Dolphin's Head, 3000 feet high. It was dusk as we entered the small, but very pretty land-locked, harbour. Services in the Baptist chapel in the morning, and in the Wesleyan chapel in the evening, occupied the Lord's day. The galleries of the Baptist chapel were in an unfinished state; indeed, the structure has for some years been slowly building, as the means of the people would allow. Mr. Brown rejoined me the next day, when we met the deacons and leaders, and addressed a large meeting of the people. The statements made to us differed in no respect from those already given. The congregation

gathered in Lucea is a large one, and with this Church the Rev. W. Teall combines the oversight of the Churches at Sandy Bay and at Green Island, the whole comprising more than five hundred members. The Church at Green Island, about 14 miles from Lucea, is at present without a chapel, the one they had having been pulled down on account of its dangerous condition. The people there are very poor, and need assistance to rebuild their ruined sanctuary.

The Rev. W. Teall, at the time of our visit, was absent in England; but we found a hearty welcome, especially from the senior deacon, a black man, at whose house we slept on the Monday night, on our way into Westmoreland. This good man's cottage is built at a settlement, called Mount Moriah, six miles from Lucea. It contains four rooms in two stories, with jalousied windows; the floors are boarded, and the roof covered with cedar shingles. The furniture was of mahogany, and we slept in a good four-post bedstead. Both inside and out, the house was neatly painted. The industrious owner recently won the second prize, given by the Hanover Society of Industry, for the superior style of his dwelling. It cost in building about £100. Mr. Gray is a fair specimen of the rising yeomen of Jamaica; he is advanced in years, but still vigorously prosecutes his labours in his provision grounds. He has five acres of freehold land under cultivation, besides some rented land, and occasionally employs four men to assist him. He grows all sorts of bread-kind, arrow-root, and sugar; of the latter he made twenty barrels

last year. As a deacon of the Church, his labours are unwearied; he is ever ready to visit the sick and distressed, and bears a very honourable name among all who know him.

Hanover raises provisions very largely, which are sold in the neighbouring parishes. The Custos informed me that having had occasion to make inquiries, he found that the planters of Westmoreland discounted bills at Savanna-la-Mar to the amount of £90,000 a year, a large part of which came to Hanover in payment of provisions. The course of trade was shown by the fact that silver is always plentiful at Lucea, while at Savanna-la-Mar it is difficult to obtain. The estates of Westmoreland absorb a large quantity of labour, and at a provision market, called Morgan's Bridge, from four to five thousand people generally attend on the market-day.

From an important paper prepared by the Hanover Society of Industry, for the Jamaica Royal Society of Arts, I gather the following statements on the industrial condition of this parish. It contains the only published statistical information of the kind I could obtain in the island; and being based on actual investigation, it is very valuable.

There are now under cultivation only twenty-nine estates, whose annual produce amounts to about 2608 hogsheads of sugar, and 1435 puncheons of rum. This is procured from 3675 acres of land; not quite three-quarters of a hogshead to an acre, which would seem to be below the general average of the island. The estates have,

in addition, 3555 acres under pasture. Not more, however, than one-fifth of their area is under culture; there are no less than 28,552 acres, either ruinate, or inaccessible to cultivation. The number of persons employed is 2760, of whom two-thirds are females, and this number during crop-time only.*

There are 151 other properties, mostly occupied as cattle farms, or penns, of twenty acres and upwards; but of holdings under twenty acres, there are 2124, and these constitute the settlements and freeholds of the peasantry. These small properties are thus divisible :—

891 have one acre each.

431 have two acres each.

802 have an average of five acres and a quarter each.

A more minute inquiry, by the Society, into six districts of the parish, comprising in extent and population about one-fourth of the whole, exhibits the following interesting results. There is in each family an average of nearly four persons and a half, possessing nearly five and a half acres of land.† Each family cultivates, on an average, rather more than one acre, inclusive of land which they rent; and the proportion of renters to proprietors is about one-fifth, understanding by renters, those who do not possess any land of their own.

These six districts, therefore, give 1069 acres, as under cultivation by the settlers with ground provisions,

* The population of Hanover, in 1844, was 21,575; it has since increased. Only one-eighth part of the people is engaged on the sugar estates.

† In exact numbers, a thousand families contain 4392 persons, and possess 5455 acres.

consisting of yams, cocos, plantains, cassada, and sweet potatoes; also sugar, arrow-root, ginger, cocoa-nuts, and pimento. The Society estimates the yearly value of the crop at £30 an acre, or a total value for one-fourth of the parish, of £32,070. Assuming that the other three-forths are similarly cultivated, the annual value of the produce of the small settlers in Hanover will be £128,280.

The cultivation and manufacture of sugar obtain a very considerable share of attention from the settlers. In the six districts referred to, it was ascertained that there were one hundred and forty-three small cane mills, and that the produce in 1859 reached 455 barrels. The cost of these mills, with the coppers for boiling the cane juice, is, on the average, about £10 each. This would give a total value of £1430, and reckoning the produce at £2 a barrel, the sugar would realize £910.* If we assume this to be one-third of the number of mills among the small settlers, we shall have a total of 429 mills, of the value of £4290, and an annual produce in sugar of the value of £2733, for the entire parish. Further, almost every small settler keeps a pig in the stye, and where he has a run of land, he keeps several hogs. An immense number of hogs is thus raised. They are fed on mangoes, pears, guavas, and other tropical fruits. Pork may always be bought in the market, and usually at about 7½*d.* per lb.; but bacon is seldom cured.

* One district exhibits the following steady increase of cultivation; in 1857, 146 barrels; in 1858, 227 barrels; in 1859, 261 barrels.

I shall quote the actual words of the Society on the condition of the people. These well-informed gentleman, writing on the spot, say, "The peasantry are, generally speaking, industrious and well behaved, and are gradually becoming more comfortable in their worldly circumstances. In the town of Lucea, there is a manifest inprovement during the last three years. There has been a decided increase in the amount of business transacted, as compared with a number of years previously." Six peasants were particularly selected to receive prizes, for their excellent "and very industrious" character, each of whom had built a neat and comfortable cottage, and filled it with good serviceable furniture. Their grounds were well and fully cultivated; the fences of penguin, logwood, and bamboo, were well kept. They appear, in fact, to be fair specimens of a class rising all over the island into comparative comfort and wealth.*

There has been a large diminution in Hanover of the number of sugar estates since emancipation. In 1845 there were seventy under cultivation; there are now only twenty-nine. The Society gives as the reason of their abandonment, that "a large proportion were situated in hilly portions of the parish, where the

* The Royal Society of Arts of Kingston uses the following language. "All over the island, in connection with the various churches and congregations, there are individuals that have shot far ahead of their neighbours in intelligence, in moral propriety, in religious knowledge, in industry, in the cultivation of their lands, and the construction and furnishing of their cottages, and in everything essential to a higher state of civilization, than what they once possessed."

cultivation was necessarily difficult and expensive; and to this cause, as well as in consequence of the great reduction in the price of the produce since 1846, their abandonment may be principally attributed." It will be noted that this statement confirms the conclusions I have already expressed, that the question of labour has had little or nothing to do with the decay of Jamaica's staple produce.

On the basis of the facts thus accurately ascertained for the parish of Hanover, I will here attempt an estimate of the progress of the people in material prosperity throughout the island since emancipation, employing in the calculations the figures of the census taken in the present year.

The entire population is now ascertained to consist of 441,264 individuals; a gain of 63,831 since 1844, notwithstanding the losses by cholera and smallpox in 1851-2, and the neglect of medical help since emancipation.* Omitting from our calculations the white portion of the people—13,816 in number, and the mixed colour—81,065 in number, we may conclude that the remainder, 346,374 black people, represent the old slave population.† These came out of bondage

* The number of medical men has greatly declined since 1833. There were then fully 200 qualified practitioners; now, in 1861, there are only 50, with no prospect of reinforcement. Their charges are so high as to place their services beyond the reach of the common people, except in very extraordinary emergencies. *Jamaica Guardian, for Oct.* 8, 1861.

† As compared with the census of 1844, the whites have diminished by 1960 persons; the people of mixed colour have increased 12,536; the blacks 53,246; that is, 18 per cent. in both cases.

without any fixed property; and with very slight deductions what they now possess may be regarded as the fruit of their industry since that time, and that in the face of many adverse influences, both of a social and commercial character.

Taking the ascertained number of persons in a family as stated at p. 416, there will be 78,864 families of black people. But as many of these live in the towns, where they rent houses, and depend for a livelihood on service, or various trades, or reside on estates as renters of land, I propose to reduce the number of families to 65,000, as the actual owners of houses and lands in the numerous settlements they have formed throughout the country.

These 65,000 families, then, possess houses which they have built and furnished at a cost say of £16 each. They have purchased 354,575 acres of land, at the rate say of 30*s.* an acre, a sum far below what was paid at the time when the settlements were first formed. They have provided themselves with clothes, to the value say of £4 for each family. They have stocked their freeholds with pigs, goats, horses and carts, say at the rate of £3 each family.* Following the calculations of the Hanover Society of Arts, these freeholders would be possessed of upwards of ten thousand small sugar mills; but considering that in districts like Westmoreland and Vere, where the sugar estates are large, and

* In an inquiry made in the congregation of the Rev. J. Thompson, of Mount Charles, St. Andrew's, it was found that among 73 heads of families, there were seventy horses or mules.

the people produce little sugar themselves, and that in other parishes, pimento or coffee cultivation absorbs much attention, I will put the number of sugar mills down at five thousand for the entire island, at £10 each, as valued by the Society of Arts. And finally, the deposits in the Savings' Banks amount to £49,399. The total of these accumulations reaches to more than Two Millions sterling.* Of course no approximation can be made to the amount of money in the hands of the people. It is known that hoarding is practised to a very considerable extent. But taking the very low estimates above, it must be admitted that the peasantry of Jamaica have not laboured without some tangible and very valuable results, during the twenty-three years they have been free.

It now remains to estimate the value of the produce of their land, and their earnings from year to year. It will decisively settle the question, whether the people, as a whole, are addicted to idleness. Omitting, as before, the whole of the white and coloured population, I take the 78,864 families of the black people. The Society of Arts estimates the yearly value of the produce of each acre cultivated by the settlers at £30.

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* The items are as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
65,000 houses, with furniture, at £16 each	1,040,000	0	0
354,575 acres of land, at 30*s.* an acre	531,862	10	0
Clothes for 65,000 families, at £4 each	260,000	0	0
Stock on freeholds, at £3 each family	195,000	0	0
5000 Sugar Mills, at £10 each	50,000	0	0
Funds in Savings' Banks	49,399	0	0
	2,126,261	10	0

Richard Hill, Esq., in a lecture delivered before Governor Darling, in August, 1857, reckons the income of an average family in Jamaica to be £26. I will take the mean, £28. This gives the sum of £2,108,192 as the earnings of the peasantry of Jamaica.

But the same striking result may be arrived at in a still more satisfactory manner.

Although each family possesses over five acres of land, it cultivates only a little more than one acre.* To our frequent inquiries, we were told that the value of the produce of the provision grounds would average from £12 to £25 an acre. It may, I think, be taken at £20, which is one-third less than the estimate of the Society of Arts. I shall omit altogether the value of the live stock reared and consumed. To the above must be added the labour value of all the exports, consisting of sugar, pimento, ginger, and other products, which, although they are not the property of the labourer, are the fruit of his toil. From the items given below, it will appear that the value of the labour expended upon the productions of the soil by the people of Jamaica, is not less than £2,162,773.† This amount

* More accurately, a hundred families cultivate 116 acres.

† In the following estimate, I have taken the average of the four years, 1855—1858.

	£	s.	d.
91,408 acres cultivated, value of produce, at £20 an acre,	1,828,160	0	0
29,544 hogsheads of sugar, at £7 a hhd...	206,808	0	0
17,075 puncheons of rum, at £1 10s. a pun.	25,612	10	0
8,174,052 lbs. of pimento, at 1¼d. per lb.	42,573	4	0
5,329,640 lbs. of coffee at 1½d. per lb.	33,310	0	0
504,800 lbs. of ginger, at 3d. per lb.	6,310	0	0
Minor articles	20,000	0	0
	£2,162,773	14	0

represents the simple value of the labour, the value of the produce is far greater. The export value of the articles below, set down as having only a labour value of £334,613 14*s.* 0*d.*, was, in the year 1857, £1,217,740.†

Tested by figures, it must, I think, be conceded that the negroes of Jamaica have made no inconsiderable progress in the acquisition of material wealth; and that the results of their daily toil are sufficient to refute the oft-repeated assertions, that they "eat their yam without work," and that, "on the whole, they laugh, and sing, and sleep through life." Only ignorance, or inveterate prejudice, can be blind to the truth as it really is. The Creole labourers of Jamaica have many faults, and some grave ones; but idleness is certainly not a marked characteristic of the race.

A few days were devoted to visiting the stations at Fuller's Field, Savanna-la-Mar, and Sutcliffe, in the parish of Westmoreland. The last two are under the charge of the Rev. John Clarke, and, since our departure, Fuller's Field church has elected, as its pastor, Mr. Maxwell, a student of Calabar Institution. As in other cases, we met the people in considerable numbers. Their report of the state of piety amongst

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* The value alone of the four articles, Coffee, Pimento, Rum, and Sugar, as given in at the ports of export, in the following years, was:— 1855, £786,429; in 1856, £814,659; in 1857, £1,141,472.—*Statistical Tables, part* iv., *for* 1857, *pp.* 149—151.

them was a discouraging one; and we soon found that, in the sugar growing districts on the southern side of the island, both the morality and material prosperity of the people are at a lower level than on the northern side. A large proportion of the leaders and members is engaged in estates' labour.

Many of the planters pay little or no regard to the moral character of the people they employ. One planter, the proprietor of two fine estates, making more than five hundred hogsheads of sugar in a year, distinctly told us that it was no concern of his to ascertain that his overseers, or book-keepers, or labourers, were persons of good moral character. His business was simply to make sugar, and to obtain the men who would make it best. He had refused but lately to listen to the complaints of a neighbouring clergyman, who called his serious attention to the fearful effects on the young people of his congregation arising out of their employment on the estates.

In the course of one day's ride in Westmoreland, we passed more dancing booths than we had seen elsewhere for a week together. One proprietor frankly said that they were the worst of the people who were now employed in sugar cultivation, and that, in this respect, there had been going on a very marked deterioration since emancipation. I cannot wonder at this, when so many masters exhibit such a total disregard of moral obligations, both in their own habits and in that of the persons they employ to conduct their estates.

Savanna-la-Mar is the port of Westmoreland. It is a town of considerable size, with one long dusty street. The Baptist chapel is a handsome structure, and with the Mission House, stands nearly in the centre of the town. The small fort which once defended the harbour, is nearly destroyed by the sea, which has undermined the walls. The Court House is a good looking building, and there are several large and well-stocked stores in the main street. Mr. Clarke took me to visit an old lady, whose reminiscences of the days of slavery were very interesting. Herself free, she took part in the meetings, giving out the hymns, and reading the scriptures to the slaves, when assembled for religious instruction. She gave me the original affidavit of a man named Pessoa, who, in April, 1830, swore to the fact of a meeting of this sort, on which she with others was arrested and imprisoned. Now, aged and infirm, she awaits with patience her dismission to the rest of God, in trustful reliance on the Saviour's grace.

As the time was rapidly approaching that had been fixed for the meeting of the pastors and delegates of the Churches belonging to the Western Union, it was necessary to hasten our return to Montego Bay. Mr. Brown kindly undertook to visit the stations at Black River, in St. Elizabeth's, under the pastoral care of a native minister the Rev. D. G. Campbell, while Mrs. Underhill, who had rejoined me in Savanna-la-Mar, and I set out to cross the island, passing Sutcliffe Mount, and receiving on our way the kind hospitality

of friends at Knockalva. A few days' rest and preparation for the forthcoming conference were secured at Mount Carey, and in pleasant and grateful intercourse with its worthy pastor and his excellent wife.

CHAPTER X.

Jamaica Baptist Union—Views of the Deputation—Extent of the Mission—The Churches—Their Pecuniary Resources—Decline of Numbers—Its Causes—Decay of Contributions—Its Causes—Supply of Ministers—Effects of the Plurality of Pastorates—More Ministers required—Need of European Ministers—How to be Supplied—Day Schools—Their Resources—General Education in Jamaica.

THE session of the Jamaica Baptist Union commenced on 29th of February, and continued to the 7th March inclusive; during which, in addition to the meetings for business, several large congregations assembled for preaching and general purposes, the last being a crowded assembly, to bid farewell to the Deputation. For the last few days of the session, I was deprived of the assistance of my friend and colleague, Mr. Brown, owing to an attack of fever. With this only drawback, the meetings, whether private or public, were of a most agreeable and interesting kind; and I have to acknowledge, with the warmest gratitude, the cordial reception given to every suggestion made by the Deputation, and the frank and unreserved communications made on every topic which came before us.

I shall not attempt to give in detail, nor even an outline of the discussions which lasted over eight days, but will present to my readers, in a succinct form, the

general results of the investigations in which the Deputation had been engaged, and the views they were led to lay before the pastors and delegates of the Union, and, subsequently, before the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society at home.

From the labours of the missionaries sent to Jamaica by the Baptist Missionary Society, there have sprung seventy-seven churches, spread in varying proportions over every parish in the island, the eastern parishes, and two or three in the south, having the fewest number. Every one of these churches has its chapel, and a number of class-houses, scattered at various distances in the district of which the chapel may be regarded as the centre, or the head-quarters. The chapels are calculated to hold about 50,000 persons, and the returns show an average attendance, on the Lord's-day, of about 35,000. To this number may be added, at least, one-third more for those who, from old age, sickness, or infancy, are unable to attend; so that the Baptist congregations may be presumed to embrace, and their ministers to supply, the religious instruction of, at least, one-eighth of the entire population.* The number of persons in full membership, who have been baptized, and are admitted to all the institutions of the

* For the purpose of comparison, I may mention that Governor Darling, in a recent despatch to the Colonial Office, says, "that not above one-third of the population, say 120,000, are in the habit of attending public worship; and that the accommodation furnished by the Church of England, and all other denominations, is not more than sufficient for about 175,000." *Parl. Reports*, 1861, *p.* 4.

church, was, in 1859, about 19,300; and in the inquirers' classes, about 2300. There have since been large accessions to these numbers, especially to the latter, from the effect of the religious movement which took place early in the present year.

The ministerial office was filled by thirty-eight pastors, of whom twenty-three were Europeans. The rest were coloured and black men, natives of the island, and, with two exceptions, educated at the Calabar Institution. The number of deacons and leaders, who form a kind of council of aid to the minister, as well as conduct the classes and watch over the discipline of the church, is between five and six hundred. The returns made to me of the pecuniary resources of the churches were somewhat imperfect; but from them I gather, with some approximation to accuracy, that the average annual contribution of each member for the support of the minister, the erection and repair of the chapels, the maintenance of Divine worship, and the spread of the gospel, was, in 1844, 11*s.* 11¼*d.*; in 1849, 7*s.* 4¼*d.*; in 1854, 7*s.* 7½*d.*; in 1859, 8*s.* 2½*d.* In the latter year, the sum contributed by the churches for the service of God, may be taken at £8000.*

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* "The number of ministers of the several denominations may be stated as follows, at the end of the year 1859:—

Church of England	85	Roman Catholic	56
Presbyterians	20	Hebrew	2
Wesleyans	24	London Missionary Society	11
United Methodist Free Church	5	American Mission	5
Moravian	14	Baptists	38

The stipends of the clergy of the Church of England are paid from the public revenue."—*Parliamentary Reports*, 1861, *p.* 5.

The first remark on these facts is, that there has been a very large diminution in the number of members since the year 1845. In 1839, there were 21,337 members; in 1842, 30,982. A year or two later, they were supposed to reach nearly 34,000. From the year 1845, the number began steadily to decline; although many were baptized, or restored to Church fellowship, the decrease was greater than the increase. Nor was the falling off arrested till the year 1855; since which time, excepting the years 1858 and 1859, the increase has been slightly in excess of the losses.

In seeking into the causes of a diminution, which appears to indicate a material decline in religious zeal and piety, I must first mention that, in 1851, it was calculated that at least one-tenth of the population was mown down by cholera. Thus the Union report of that year states, that no less than six thousand members, inquirers, hearers, and Sabbath-school children, were swept away within twelve or fourteen weeks.

Then, the first four or five years after emancipation was a period of great excitement. The ministers of the dissenting bodies had the credit of having acquired for the people that act of justice, and in their grateful and abounding emotion the enfranchised multitudes flocked to the house of God, and pressed into the doors of the church. They were very ignorant, and it was difficult to distinguish the devout expressions of thankfulness from the overflowing love of hearts truly touched by the Spirit of God. Thus numbers were baptized, who gradually fell away as the cares of their new life cooled

their ardour, or were separated from church fellowship through the outburst of unregenerate dispositions.

The new circumstances of the people also contributed to the diminution. Compelled to leave the estates and to find new abodes, often at great distances from their religious associations, they either became connected with other religious bodies, or lost altogether the opportunity of public worship, and then the desire for religious privileges. In the mountains large sections of country may be found, settled of late years by the peasantry, where there is neither church nor chapel within many miles. Thus one of the ministers informed us, that among the mountain ridges which divide Trelawny from St. Elizabeth's, he has passed fifty villages that are without the means of grace.

No inconsiderable cause is the stricter discipline which the pastors have been enabled to enforce. This has operated both to the exclusion of unworthy members, and to the non-reception of others. A longer period of probation has been established, and a higher degree of piety required.

On the whole I am inclined to believe that, however painful it may be to record this diminution of the number of persons professing godliness, genuine christians are by no means fewer, and that the Churches enjoy a much healthier spiritual life. Could a more ample supply of suitable pastors have been provided from 1839 to 1842, it may be that a portion of the loss would not have accrued. Wanderers might have been followed into

their mountain homes, and preserved from that fatal indifference which has ruined the souls of many.

The next point to be observed, is the diminution in the amount contributed by the people for religious purposes. At the advent of freedom their liberality was very remarkable. This, however, soon began to diminish, as the necessity arose for the purchase of land and the erection of houses, and there was born an ambition to possess some of the advantages of civilized life. Still, the people for some time generously and fairly supported the entire charge of their ministers' salaries, the repair of their places of worship, and all the expenses incident on the maintenance of the worship of God. Between 1840 and 1845, they suffered a good deal from the drought, which affected the entire cultivation of the island; but up to the latter year, their contributions continued to maintain a good average, nearly 12*s.* a head for each member. The income of the churches of course suffered somewhat from the diminution of numbers which then began; but much more from the sudden fall in their means occasioned by the throwing up of so many sugar estates and coffee properties, consequent on the free-trade measures of the British Parliament, in 1846. More than one half the wages that had been expended in the island since emancipation was gone, and to that extent, their resources were dried up. Hence the average annual contribution became, in 1849, only 7*s.* 4¼*d.* a head. Hence came the distress which fell on so many of the ministers, who were burdened with chapel debts, or unable to live on the diminished salary afforded them.

A few were obliged to leave the island altogether, and seek elsewhere the means of livelihood. Hence the appeals to this country for more ministers, and especially for pecuniary aid, which a few years ago were so urgent. It does not appear to me that the disposition of the people has undergone any remarkable change. With returning prosperity in the general interests of the island, scarcely, indeed, admitted by some, but acknowledged by all to be very gradual, the contributions have exhibited a slow but continuous improvement. In 1854 the average rose to 7*s.* 7½*d.*; in 1859 it had become 8*s.* 2½*d.*; being still nearly a third less than in 1844. And although the salaries of the ministers have not reached the standard of 1844, and probably never will, yet there has been some compensation in the diminished expense of carrying on their work, and the cheapening of many articles of food and attire.

The vacancies occasioned by the death, or departure from the island, of European ministers, have been more than supplied by the coloured brethren who have been educated in the Institution at Calabar, so that there is now (1861) a slight excess beyond the greatest number of ministers the churches have had amongst them at any former period. Still the number is very inadequate to the work to be done. Each minister is, on the average, pastor of two churches. It is certain that few churches are strong enough in numbers to support alone a European pastor, even at the present low rate of salary; and perhaps for some time to come the necessity thus arising will constrain the continuance of this plurality of

pastorates. There are also some churches, which, from their locality and circumstances, can best be served in conjunction with a sister community. But there are several considerations which render it very important that, where practicable, each church should have a pastor to itself. I will mention some of them.

1. There are no supernumerary ministers; consequently, the absence from the island through ill health, or the sudden sickness or death of any pastor, throws an additional burden on the rest to supply the vacancy, which in its effect is interruptive of the usefulness, and injurious to the health, of the pastors who have to meet the emergency.

2. Owing to the scattered condition of the people, but one service—and that is usually a very long one—can be held on the Lord's day. The pastor, therefore, occupies the pulpit only on alternate Sundays, and if he happen to have charge of any vacant church, still less frequently. Hence the people are falling into the habit of attendance at the house of God only on "minister's Sunday." The meetings at the class-houses are not efficient substitutes for the worship of the congregation, and the instruction derived from the pastor's lips. Many spend the alternate sabbath in idleness and gossip, for, unable to read, they have no resource in books, and the growth of intelligent piety meets with a sore check.

3. The pastor is unable to give the churches the close, vigorous superintendence they require. The sick are necessarily left, to a great extent, unvisited, and

rom their remoteness, the pastor's presence in the houses of his people, becomes a rare occurrence. Yet, from the changed and changing habits of the people, such oversight is more than ever necessary.

4. There is an almost insuperable difficulty in the way of forming and maintaining Bible classes for the youth of the congregations, and teacher's classes for the improvement of those who are engaged in the Sunday school.

5. The pastors are so fully occupied with their present labours, that they are unable to follow the migratory population into the mountains, or other districts, whither the people are drawn by the abundance of work or cultivable land. Thus a considerable number of persons is annually lost to the churches. Much less is the pastor able to carry the gospel to the new settlements, or to evangelize that large section of the people which is still without the means of grace.

6. It cannot be doubted that an imperfect oversight tends to keep down, if not to diminish, the contributions of the people. They are fully alive to the idea of paying only for that which they enjoy.

7. The incessant engagements incident to the oversight of congregations containing such large numbers of people, the distance at which the members often live from the minister's residence, and the secular duties which the pastorate in Jamaica involves among a people so untrained, and just emerging from barbarism, leave the pastor but little time for study and self-

culture, while his personal expenses are increased by the wide extent of ground he has to cover.

8. It is moreover incident to such a state of things, that the deacons and leaders have thrown upon them a large degree of responsibility, and an influence may be acquired over the people, which under some circumstances, would be harmful to the church's welfare and the pastor's peace.

I need not enlarge on these considerations. I think it will freely be admitted, that in an increase of the number of pastors and ministers is involved the conservation of past labour, and the building up of the superstructure so well begun,—so perseveringly carried on by the brethren who have continued in the work, or who have passed away to their reward. The churches need more ministers, and the existence of masses of people in ignorance and vice, demands more evangelists. I may give an illustration, perhaps an extreme one, yet one that ought not to exist for a day. The Rev. W. Claydon informed me, that if he were to visit each of his classes once a quarter, and return home at night, which he must generally do, he would have to travel 6000 miles in a year.

There are but two sources whence a supply of ministers can be drawn; from the bosom of the churches themselves, and from England. In speaking of the Calabar Institution, I have sufficiently referred to the first resource; but a few words must be added with regard to the latter. It appears to me to be essential to the continued advancement of the people, and to the training of

an indigenous ministry, that a certain proportion of Europeans should, for years to come, be pastors among the churches. Their higher standard of learning and piety, their disinterestedness, their devotion to their work, the encouragement they afford to every effort for the elevation of the people, the assistance they render, and sometimes the protection they afford, in cases of oppression, their sympathy with the wants and struggles of the people, their freedom from prejudices of colour and race, and their interest in everything which concerns the wellbeing of the negro, are of invaluable worth and service in the good cause of raising the African from his degraded condition. The number to be furnished must be determined by local and special considerations; but their presence is, in my judgment, absolutely necessary to perfect the social and religious structure in progress. The people are themselves fully alive to the importance of such aid, and pressed upon us again and again its necessity.

But how is this want to be supplied? Both native and European pastors earnestly deprecate any interference with their reliance on the free gifts of the people for their support, the arrangement which now exists in every church. With this view I most fully concur. A period of distress has indeed been passed through; but all now see that the result is a great gain, both to the pastorate and the churches, and I know not one among them that wishes the arrangement to be disturbed. But while the churches are able, with comparative ease, and are willing to support their English pastors, they are not so

well able to obtain men from this country to fill vacancies, or to enlarge the bounds of Christ's kingdom. It was therefore suggested, and the suggestion has been adopted by the Home Committee, with the entire concurrence of the pastors in Jamaica, that English ministers should be encouraged to entertain the invitations of vacant churches, the Committee undertaking to provide the passage and outfit, and to make some provision for their families in case of sickness and death; the church inviting, and the minister invited, clearly understanding that the salary must be furnished by the church alone. By this measure the independence of the pastors and churches of Jamaica will be secured, and, at the same time, the way is open for supplying the most important churches with ministers from this country as they may be required.

The question of the maintenance and improvement of the day schools received much attention. Connected with the churches there are existing about seventy-three schools, having an average attendance of 3128 children; the number on the books is 4144. The Sunday schools contain nearly eleven thousand children, and engage the attention of eight hundred teachers.* The attendance is much affected by the weather, the abundance of the crops, the amount of work to be done on the estates,

* Governor Darling says in his Report, "I think it very probable that the education imparted on Sundays, under the more immediate superintendence of the ministers of religion themselves, is quite as valuable in the aggregate as that which is given on the few week days on which the schools are attended by teachers, many of whom are far from properly qualified for their office." p. 5.

and the growing tendency to employ "pickaninny gangs" for the lighter work.

These influences while they affect the usefulness of the schools, also diminish the amount of fees available for the support of the teachers. The amount of fees appears to average a little over £13 for each school. This is obviously far too little for the maintenance of the master or mistress, and renders the dependence of the day schools on benevolent funds a necessity. Owing to the almost entire non-existence in the island of persons who take an interest in education, these funds are principally drawn from England. Thus, the Wesleyan Missionary Society spends, on education in Jamaica, £1500 a year; the Presbyterian Mission, £900; the Moravian Mission, £500; the whole derived from this country.

The Baptist day schools have no such resource; some of them obtain grants from the Society of Friends; others make application to private parties; but there does not exist any organized body by whose efforts they are sustained. Hence arise many difficulties in their support. Often the schoolmasters have their salaries supplemented at the cost of the minister. One case was brought before me, in which, out of an income of £75, the pastor gave £40 towards the maintenance of the day school; and in several instances one third of the schoolmaster's salary was thus provided. The conscientious objection of the ministers to the receipt of grants from the colonial treasury, also deprives them of the help it is willing to give. But in one instance did I find this principle departed from, and the Government was resorted

to as the only possible alternative to the entire abandonment of three or four schools.

In our examination of the day schools we found much to gratify us, an abundance of proof that the children are as capable of acquiring knowledge, and with as much quickness and intelligence as any children in the world. I place in a note an extract from the Annual Report of the Day Schools connected with the Jamaica Baptist Union, for 1859, which will set the character of the instruction, and the improvement of late years, in a favourable light;* but there is a considerable deficiency in books, and in other school requisites; nor are the teachers, as a class, equal to the requirements of the schools. This latter point, the Committee of Calabar Institution, in conjunction with the Missionary Committee at home, have sought to remedy, by the formation of a Normal School department, and the employment of a suitable tutor. It would be most gratifying to me should this exposition of the condition of the day schools of the Baptist congregations of Jamaica, lead to a deeper interest in this country in a subject so essentially, so

* "Forty-six schools report 972 scholars writing on paper, 1402 in the arithmetic classes, 472 learning English grammar, 715 are taught geography, 184 are committing poetry to memory, 414 are weekly storing their minds with texts of Scripture, and 490 girls are taught to use the needle. In one school 6 are reported in geometry, 11 in mensuration and algebra, and 7 are learning Latin. These returns are far below the standard at which we aim, yet, if compared with the school returns of 1845, fourteen years ago, it will be found that there are now about 400 children more in the arithmetic classes, about 300 more writing on paper, an increase of 300 in English grammar, and 500 in the geographical classes; pleasing facts, as to the steady progress that is being made."

radically connected with the progress and civilization of the enfranchised negro.

It will be convenient here briefly to allude to the general state of education throughout the island. By the census of the present year, I find that 80,724 persons are set down as able to read, and 50,726 as able to read and write; there remain, therefore, upwards of three hundred thousand persons of all ages unable to do either. There are returned as attending school 33,521 children; but as more than one half of this number attend only the Sunday school, education beyond the acquisition of the mere art of reading, is confined, at present, to a very small proportion of the children of the school age. There are in the island 115,000 children from 2 to 10 years old. Government expends, by means of grants in aid, about three thousand pounds annually; but this amount includes five hundred pounds devoted to industrial and reformatory institutions. In the lists of recipients of these funds, the clergy of the Church of England stand the most prominent. The Wesleyans received last year £250; the Moravians, £300. Besides the schools sustained by religious bodies and aided by Government, there exist in the country several charity schools, supported by private benefactions and endowments, as the Mico Charity, the Free Schools of Vere, Manchester, and St. Elizabeth's, Woolmer's Free School in Kingston, and Rusea's Free School in Lucea. Almost all these institutions* have invested

* The funds of the Mico Charity are invested, I believe, in England.

their funds in the Island Public Debt, to the amount of nearly £70,000, and receive interest thereon of about £7000 a year. The schools are generally well conducted: among those I visited I may particularly mention, the Mico Charity school in Kingston, and Rusea's school in Lucea. I found children of all colours in the classes; but whites and browns predominated. Even with all these means of education, it is obvious that a very large proportion of the children of Jamaica are growing up without any kind of instruction at all.

CHAPTER XI.

Departure from Montego Bay—Refuge—Clarksonville and Mount Zion—Staceyville—Journey to Four Paths—Kellitt's Estate—Chapelton—Four Paths—State of the Churches—Uncertain Titles to Land—Visit to two Sugar Estates—Return to Kingston—Missionary Meetings—Visit to Yallahs—Cultivation of Cotton—Concluding Observations.

THE morning of the 8th March was occupied in bidding farewell to the pastors and delegates, with whom, for so many days, we had enjoyed the most pleasant Christian intercourse. The meetings were throughout characterized by cordiality, and on all important topics the most entire unanimity prevailed. On the afternoon of the following day, as Mr. Brown's health was sufficiently recovered to travel, we bade adieu to our very kind host and hostess, Mr. and Mrs. Hewett, whose unvarying regard to our comfort, vigilance over our health, and arrangements for the happiness of all, have left the most grateful memories of a visit never to be forgotten. Our first stage was to Falmouth by the coast road. The next day we proceeded to Kettering. In the evening, Mr. Brown and Mrs. Underhill left for Calabar; I remained for the services of the Lord's-day at Refuge. This station lies on the hills, between Duncan's and Swanwick. It was one of the first stations in Trelawny established

by Mr. Knibb. It is now under the pastoral oversight of his son-in-law, the Rev. E. Fray. As the day was very wet, the congregation was smaller than usual. Recently, Mr. Fray has attempted, and with good success, to reach some of the new mountain settlements, by employing six of his most intelligent young men to visit them, and to open rooms for divine worship. The plan has also proved conducive to an increase of his congregation at Refuge.

A few days were spent in farewell visits, to our friends at Calabar and Brown's Town. From the latter place, Mr. Brown and Mrs. Underhill crossed the island to Spanish Town, by the usual route over Mount Diabolo, while I traversed the mountains in another direction to visit the parishes of Clarendon, Manchester, and Vere.

Passing through Bethany, I first reached the station of the Rev. F. Johnson, at Clarksonville. The whole route was through settlements of the enfranchised population, amid pimento walks, coffee plantations, and provision grounds. Neat houses and cottages peeped out from among the dark foliage of mango-trees, or the broad-leafed banana, in every direction, the abodes of a prosperous and contented peasantry.* Leaving Clarksonville, under the guidance of its excellent native minister, I continued my journey on horseback to Mount Zion, where a meeting of the people awaited me. The

* Lately, I learn that three black men at Brown's Town, have purchased an estate of 900 acres, and divided it equally between them, for the purpose of cultivating sugar and market produce.

road led through the Cave Valley Estates, which, although very elevated above the sea, are among the most profitable in the island. The floods of the Cave and Yankey Rivers deposit in the hollows and gullies, and along the valleys formed by the course of the mountain ranges, a rich and fertile soil. One estate we passed through produces 300 hogsheads of sugar annually, and the fields presented some of the finest specimens of cane that I had seen. Crossing a savannah, which in the rainy season is often impassable, we again began to ascend, and came upon a range of hills, or rather mountain tops, denuded of trees, but covered profusely with fern. The soil was a brown argillaceous earth. In every hollow, or gorge, cottages nestled with their patches of cultivation, and in all directions settlements were visible. Just before reaching the chapel, we had to cross the source of the Mohò River. The ford was a few feet above the ridge of a precipice, over which the waters fall in an unbroken cascade of seventy or eighty feet. They were then lost in the deep glen below, amid the dense foliage that lined the chasm through which they hasten to fertilize the plains of Clarendon.

Mount Zion stands nearly in the centre of the island, and commands very extensive views both to the north and south. It looks back over the flourishing villages of St. Ann's; below are the vales of Clarendon, surrounded by the Mocho mountains, which separate it from Manchester. Smoke curling up in the dense forests betokened the clearings in progress; while in innumerable spots

could be caught the glimmering light of the white cottages of the people.

The chapel I found to be in a very unfinished state, built of unplaned timber, with wattled walls, and a shingle roof. Being too small, the congregation is contemplating the erection of another, near to a small house just completed for the use of the minister. About a hundred and fifty people met, notwithstanding the stormy state of the weather. The rain prevented us from continuing our journey to Staceyville; but the unfurnished rooms of the cottage were soon provisionally supplied with furniture from the neighbouring huts.

After an early breakfast, Mr. Johnson and I set out for Staceyville, about seven miles. The track led us over numerous hills of fern-covered clay, often very slippery from the previous day's rain, sometimes descending with dangerous steepness into a deep ravine, across a little brook, and then a similarly precipitous ascent. Staceyville lies in a hollow, surrounded by a populous settlement, and much cleared land. The chapel was formerly a coffee store, and consists of a large upper room, supported by strong brick pillars and arches, some ten feet from the ground. The native minister, the Rev. R. Dalling, lives in a portion of the building, separated by wooden partitions from the place of assembly. A new house, close at hand, was nearly finished, into which he expected shortly to remove; the rooms he occupied would then be thrown into the chapel, the congregation requiring the additional space. The congregations are good, and the pastor is much beloved by his people. The church has

seven deacons, and eight leaders conduct the eight classes. The number of members is 224. The people in this neighbourhood are far removed from the sugar estates. They cultivate provisions, with which they supply the markets in the parish of Clarendon, also a little sugar-cane, and coffee.

Under Mr. Dalling's guidance, I proceeded next day to descend the mountains, in order to reach Four Paths, in Clarendon, the principal station of the Rev. W. Claydon. The first part of the road led us through several settlements lying about the foot of the Bull Head mountain, whose top, although but a few hundred feet above our path, is 3140 feet above the sea-level. There is a road over it, but it was thought to be in a dangerous state; we therefore skirted its base. We descended a defile, or gorge, the track being cut in the face of the rock. It was often very strait and rugged. The narrow path, with an overhanging precipice on one side, and an abyss on the other, was sometimes truly hazardous. Once it was broken down, and my horse was compelled to pause before he ventured to step the chasm. The least slip and we must have rolled into the gorge. The views were sometimes magnificent, and the scenery occasionally sublime. The river called Rio Minho ran gurgling and rushing in the bottom of the ravine, but hidden by the bush. Here and there a waterfall diversified the scene, until we emerged on an open vale, occupied with the ruined buildings of an abandoned sugar estate, called Kellitt's. It once employed nearly eight hundred slaves, and the style of the

ruins exhibits traces of a prosperity now utterly broken, and of wealth wasted away. One can only wonder how an estate like this, in the gorges of the mountains, in the very centre of the island, with difficult mountain roads in every direction, could ever have paid. Only a system of protection and coerced labour could have sustained such a costly cultivation. Some miles further on, in the vale of Clarendon, we passed the ruined estates of Crawle River; then by Mallet Hall and Savory estates to Chapelton, the chief town of the parish. Many loose people hung about the Coolie houses, from which the sounds of revelry and dancing proceeded. A black constable told us, that towards evening the people would become intoxicated, and give him much trouble. Chapelton was a busy scene, as it was market day. Various kinds of clothing were exposed on stalls for sale, as was formerly the case in the market towns of England, while the ground was strewed with plentiful heaps of bread kind for the estates' labourers.

Bidding farewell to Mr. Dalling, I continued my journey, in a carriage sent to meet me by Mr. Claydon. The road was in excellent repair for a few miles; then for six or seven miles it traversed an unbroken forest of timber. Four Paths, a long straggling hamlet, was reached about four o'clock. Three days were occupied in visiting the stations, conversing with the people, and ascertaining the state of the churches. To enter into detail would only be to repeat much that has already been recorded. It will suffice briefly to say, that the labours

of the minister cover a large extent of country; and that, owing partly to the weakness of the churches and partly to the want of more ministers, he is obliged to act as pastor of five churches. The people of the district are neither so intelligent nor so advanced in social wellbeing as on the north side of the mountains. The nearer the sugar estates were approached, the more emphatic were the complaints of the low morals of the population, and their degraded condition.

Few native settlements exist in the plains. Lately, Mr. Claydon purchased a property of six hundred acres for £150, nearly the whole of which has been disposed of to the people, at the rate of 12*s.* an acre, including the cost of surveys and titles. With regard to the titles of their little freeholds, the negroes are often very careless. To escape the cost of registering them, they will content themselves with a mere receipt for the purchase-money. They are, moreover, encouraged in this by a possessory law, which gives a title after seven years of undisturbed possession. Owing to their ignorance, the emancipated peasants have, in many instances, been victimized, by parties pretending to have the right to sell land, which afterwards it has been found they had usurped. Thus, at Hayes, in Vere parish, the people of a large settlement were trembling for the possession of their land, which it turns out had been sold to them by a fraudulent occupier.

The Rev. A. Duckett, a native, is the minister of the churches at Hayes, Water Lane, and The Cross, in the parish of Vere. One of these was originally a native

Baptist church. His labours are well appreciated by the people, and, under his ministry, they are advancing in piety and intelligence. But here also the complaints were very frequent of the pernicious effects of estate labour. Vere has suffered less than any other parish from the throwing up of estates. Not more than three have been abandoned since the era of freedom, and that only for want of capital.

Besides a prosperous breeding-penn, I visited two sugar estates, in full operation. The manager of the first, gave me a striking illustration of the precariousness of the supply of labour. He put the mill about in the first week of February, with 35 Creoles and 17 Coolies. The third week only 6 Creoles and 15 Coolies came to work. The Creoles stayed away to harvest their own crop. For this withdrawal, he said, he could not blame them, for the provision crop was of more value to them than their wages. From his books I found that, during the season, many of the people earn from 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* a day. The Coolies were the more diligent of the two classes of labourers, earning generally 1*s.* 6*d.* a day. Two women, feeders of the mill, earned each £1 a week. Eight carters, each having two helpers, earned, on an average, £1 18*s.* a week for each wain.

Could wages be earned at the above rates all the year round, the people would soon acquire wealth; but, from five to seven months in the year, the estates can give but little employment; so that the average for the twelve months is greatly reduced, probably to six or eight

shillings a week at the most. Without their provision grounds, the labourers could not live.

Steam power is used on this estate, and a fair profit for the proprietor is secured. The manager, however, assured me that were it not for the rum, the estate would not pay. The cost of manufacturing sugar, including all expenses, is £14 10*s.* a ton; rum costs only from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 15*s.* a puncheon. As rum, per puncheon, sells for nearly the same price as sugar, the average cost of the two articles leaves a large margin for profit and for variable market rates.

I was conducted over the other estate by the attorney. It is a large one, producing annually 400 hogsheads of sugar and 250 puncheons of rum. Lately a large outlay had been incurred for steam engines, new boiling pans, of which there were two sets working, and other machinery of the best description. There were, in his opinion, plenty of people in Vere for the cultivation of all the estates; but their labour was uncertain. Task, or job work, is the general rule of the district. Cane cutters can earn from 6*s.* 3*d.* to 12*s.* 6*d.* a week; and the pickers-up and binders of the cane, 6*s.* to 6*s.* 6*d.* Last week he had cut six women 6*d.* each, after frequent warnings, for not picking it up clean. One third fewer people are employed out of crop. A shower of rain on Sunday will stop the people from coming to work on Monday; they go to their provision grounds. Very few of the labourers have land of their own. They rent it for

provisions, at about £2 8*s*. 6*d*. an acre. Land sells for £6 an acre.

There still exists on this estate the original negro village of slavery times, one of the very few remaining on the island. It is a large plot of ground, with numerous houses, or rather rude shanties, planted at irregular distances about it. The dwellings were among the worst I have seen, and the worst furnished. The ground about them was quite uncultivated, save that numerous cocoa-nut trees cast their shadow over the grass thatch of the roofs. The trees belong to the estate. The houses are put up by the people, in which they live rent free, with the understanding that they are to work for the estate. The overseer said that the people do not work the land round their huts, because it is worn out. The people said that they do not cultivate it, because they were never sure of reaping what they sow: for they are liable to be turned out without any fair notice, or at the caprice of the overseer. Some of them are buying land outside the estate, on which to settle. One of the rangers was building a good framed house, into which he hoped soon to move, in order to be free of any obligation to work on the estate when it did not suit his purpose.

Having been rejoined by Mrs. Underhill in Vere, we returned through Old Harbour Market, on the 24th March, to Kingston. Missionary services, both in Kingston and Spanish Town, in which I enjoyed the valuable help of my colleague, now restored to health,

visits to the Penitentiary, the Mico Charity, the Museum of the Royal Society of Arts, and other places of interest, filled up the few remaining days of our sojourn in Jamaica. An excursion to Yallahs and Morant Bay, eastwards of Kingston, occupied the last two or three days, and made me acquainted with a portion of the island equalling in beauty of scenery and richness any that I had seen. At Yallahs I found a large settlement of the emancipated peasantry, and received from them the most pressing entreaties to establish an agency in England for the sale of their produce.

The parish of St. David's has but three or four sugar estates under cultivation; the people are therefore dependent on the productions of their own land. Land is rented at the rate of 20*s.* to 28*s.* an acre per annum. Mountain land may be bought for £2 an acre; land in the plains, for £6 an acre. Some assured me that they had given £9, while just after freedom it was sold as high as £32 an acre. Many of the people possess sugar mills. They complained that they were unable to purchase iron mills at a reasonable price; their wooden mills, which crush the cane very imperfectly, cost from £1 to £15, according to size. Two men spoke to me who collect honey and wax. Last year one of them shipped two puncheons of honey to England. He obtained one shilling a pound for wax, and two shillings a gallon for honey. But all complained of the low prices the local merchants give for their produce, and of the charges for commissions and freight whenever they shipped it on their own account. An invoice of ginger that had been sent

to England was shewn me in one place, in which the charges swallowed up the entire sum for which the ginger was sold.

The low prices given by local merchants is a very serious difficulty in the way of an increased production of the staples by the people. Both on the north and the south sides of the island, intelligent black men earnestly pressed this on our attention. I cannot say that the merchants are always to blame. It often happens that the people do not bring their produce to market in a condition to fetch good prices; but on the other hand, their ignorance exposes them to fraud, and no one takes any pains to teach them better. They ought often to get better prices than they do, and I am sure there is among them generally a genuine desire to improve their circumstances, by cultivating such products as are in demand in European markets.

It may be asked whether there is any probability that Jamaica will furnish cotton for the mills of Lancashire. There can be no doubt of the fitness of the soil to produce cotton of excellent quality. The plant grows everywhere with facility, is a perennial, and will last ten years and upwards without replanting. There can, moreover, be no doubt that there is a population amply large enough to supply labour for the purpose. But cotton is not such a profitable article as sugar, and, for cultivation on a large scale, sugar will continue to have the preference so long as the present profits can be made. But the same causes which affect the supply of labour on sugar estates will be equally powerful in the case of cotton. It may,

however, form one of those home productions in which the people already engage, occupying portions of their freeholds, and of time, which is not more profitably employed on their provision grounds, or in sugar cultivation. Agents, settled in a few principal towns, prepared to buy all that is brought to them at fair prices, would, I doubt not, speedily develope a considerable trade, and instigate its cultivation among the peasantry.

In bringing to a close this record of a very gratifying visit to an island deserving of the name of the Queen of the Antilles, on account of its beauty, its salubrity, and its fertility, it will be unnecessary to draw out the formal conclusions to which a review of the facts will lead. Emancipation did not indeed bring wealth to the planter; it did not restore fortunes already trembling in the grasp of mortgagees and usurers; it did not bring back the palmy days of foreign commerce to Kingston, nor assist in the maintenance of protective privileges in the markets of Great Britain; it did not give wisdom to planters, nor skill to agriculturists and manufacturers; but it has brought an amount of happiness, of improvement, of material wealth, and prospective elevation to the enfranchised slave in which every lover of man must rejoice.

Social order everywhere prevails. Breaches of the peace are rare. Crimes, especially in their darker and more sanguinary forms, are few. Persons and property are perfectly safe. The planter sleeps in security, dreads no insurrection, fears not the torch of the incendiary, travels day or night in the loneliest solitudes without

anxiety or care. The people are not drunkards, even if they be impure; and this sad feature in the moral life of the people, is meeting its check in the growing respect for the marriage tie, and the improved life of the white community in their midst.

The source of the civilization in progress is religion—that gospel which the planters tried to destroy. To quote the forcible language of my colleague* :—"From what have these things grown? What is the power that has produced these settled habits and this order? It is not force of arms; it is not physical power. If you meet with ruined estates and ruined houses, you meet with deserted barracks too. There is less need for military power now than there was in the days of slavery. It is not by the whip that the people are kept in order: it is not by the terror hanging in the air that they are made quiet. Whence has come the power that tames them? and what is the authority that keeps them in order? for they might be very wild and vicious there if they would. What is the power, and whence comes the subtle and invisible authority that keeps them in order? I claim it for religion. They have nothing to be thankful for but for the gospel, and for the friends who sent them the gospel. They owe whatever they have that is worth anything to religion. They owe to friends here who sent them the glorious tidings, all that is worthful to them in this life, and all that is hopeful to them in the life to come. It was religion that was the preparation for the Exodus,

* Speech at Willis's Rooms. Feb. 20th, 1861.

and it is religion still that is the guardian of their order. In these facts—in that social order—we have the fruits of our past labours; the labours of men who are living, and the labours of men who are dead."

The result is a striking vindication of those who affirm, "that the only experiments in civilizing savage tribes, which offer the remotest prospect of success, are those which commence with their religious instruction."*

The general prospects of the island are improving. Estates are now but rarely abandoned, while in many places portions of old estates are being brought again under cultivation. It is admitted by all parties that sugar cultivation is profitable. At the same time, it is very doubtful whether any large proportion of the emancipated population will ever be induced to return to the estates, or, at least, in sufficient numbers to secure the enlargement of the area of cultivation to the extent of former days. Higher wages will do somewhat to obtain labourers, and they can be afforded, and the return of confidence will bring capital; but the taste and habit of independence will continue to operate, and induce the agricultural classes to cling to the little holdings which they so industriously occupy.

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* *Merivale on Colonization and Colonies, p.* 524. The experience of the Church of England mission in New Zealand is the same. "Fifteen years," said a clergyman, "we attempted to civilize without effect; and the very moment that Christianity established itself in only one instance, from that moment civilization commenced, and has been going on, hand in hand with Christianity, but never preceded it." *p.* 531. Another brilliant example may be found in the results of missions in the South Seas.

A few extracts from a recent despatch of the present excellent Governor of Jamaica, Captain Darling, will fitly close these remarks, and confirm the views I have so fully expressed. He says,* "The proportion of those who are settling themselves industriously on their holdings, and rapidly rising in the social scale, while commanding the respect of all classes of the community, and some of whom are, to a limited extent, themselves the employers of hired labour, paid for either in money or in kind, is, I am happy to think, not only steadily increasing, but at the present moment is far more extensive than was anticipated by those who are cognizant of all that took place in this colony in the earlier days of negro freedom."

"There can be no doubt, in fact, that an independent, respectable, and, I believe, trustworthy, middle class is rapidly forming. . . . If the real object of emancipation was to place the freed man in such a position that he might work out his own advancement in the social scale, and prove his capacity for the full and rational enjoyment of personal independence, secured by constitutional liberty, Jamaica will afford more instances, even in proportion to its large population, of such gratifying results, than any other land in which African slavery once existed."

"Jamaica at this moment presents, as I believe, at once the strongest proof of the complete success of the

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* *Parliamentary Reports, Part* 1, *West Indies and Mauritius*, 1861, *pp.* 6. 7.

great measure of emancipation, as relates to the capacity of the emancipated race for freedom, and the most unfortunate instance of a descent in the scale of agricultural and commercial importance as a colonial community."

CUBA AND THE BAHAMAS.

CUBA AND THE BAHAMAS.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from Kingston—Arrival at the Havana—The City—Prosperity of Cuba—Fertility of its Soil—Its Slave Code—Its Slavery—Chinese Immigrants—State of Society—Its Irreligion—Insecurity of Life—Lottery Tickets—The Charleston Convention—Secession—Our Departure—A Slave Ship Captured—Arrival at New Providence.

On the 9th April we left Kingston, and after a three days' detention at St. Thomas's, waiting for the English mail, arrived in the Havana, in the island of Cuba, at sunrise, on Friday the 20th. As my colleague found a steamer fixed to sail for New York on the following Monday, he immediately secured his passage. Mrs. Underhill and myself were detained till the 9th May.

The interval was pleasantly spent in making ourselves acquainted with the most salient features of Cuban life. The public buildings of the Havana have very little to attract a stranger. The churches are generally void of architectural beauty, while the streets are narrow, dirty,

ill paved, and full of disagreeable scents and sights. It is the busiest and most prosperous of all the cities of the Antilles. Its harbour is one of the finest in the world, and is crowded with shipping. Its wharves and warehouses are piled with merchandize, and the general aspect is one of great commercial activity. The Havana is said to contain two hundred thousand inhabitants. Its exports nearly reach the annual value of nine millions sterling, and the customs furnish an annual tribute to the mother country, over and above the cost of government and military occupation. Of the 8500 ships which annually resort to the harbours of Cuba, 4700 are American.

This prosperity is said to be owing to the existence of slavery. Taken alone, we have already seen that slave labour is more costly than free labour. There must, therefore, be other causes for the incontestable superiority which Cuba enjoys above all the rest of the Antilles. The revolution in San Domingo first gave a spur to the cultivation of the cane. Then followed an increasing demand for sugar in the markets of Europe, which were especially open to it during the later years of the revolutionary war. But it is in its fertile soil that Cuba finds the root of its prosperity; for it returns to the cultivator three and often four fold more than many other islands of the West Indies. While in Jamaica, the cane will ratoon for three or four years only; in Cuba, it will continue to shoot forth for forty. In Jamaica, the average produce is reckoned at a single hogshead an acre; four hogsheads the acre are the ordinary growth

of Cuba. In this richness of the soil, Cuba enjoys an advantage which more than counterbalances the lower wages, the cheaper capital, and moderate price of land in other islands. Not more than one-fourth of the virgin soil is said to have yet been brought under culture. As the estates become exhausted, fresh ones are formed. Thus it is that the sugar estates yearly recede to a greater distance from the capital, the fields around which for miles lie desolate and bare, only broken in their solitude by a miserable cottage, or a few cabbage palm trees marking the locality of works now moved away.

The slave code of Cuba is the most merciful of any that the world has seen, and it would appear that up to within the last half century, when sugar became the staple cultivation, it was fairly administered. It confers four rights on the slave, rights of inestimable value in the amelioration of his condition. He may change his master, if he can find another willing to purchase him, at a value appraised by a magistrate; he can legally marry; he can purchase his own freedom at a price judicially fixed, and that by degrees, so that it is not unusual for a negro to own one-fourth, or one-half, share of his own labour, and his master the rest; and finally, he can purchase, at a valuation, the freedom of his wife and children.

I was informed that this state of things continues to exist in the Havana, among domestic slaves. The price of a babe is usually twenty-five dollars, and many negroes will purchase the freedom of their infants as

they are born. In this way there exists in Cuba a large number of free negroes, amounting to a sixth of the entire population; but a widely different state of things is found on the plantations. There the people are confined to large enclosures, sent out to labour only under a close supervision, and are cruelly treated. The hours of work, especially in crop-time, are often twenty in the day, and the deaths from all causes exceed not only the natural increase by birth, but the importations from Africa scarcely supply the loss. The slave trade is carried on in spite of the most solemn treaties, and adds to the slave population twenty-five or thirty thousand negroes per annum.

The Cubans live in constant dread of an insurrection of the slaves. There have been many outbreaks. One, at Matanzas in 1843, cost the lives of hundreds of men. An eminent Cuban writer declares, that society in Cuba rests on the crater of a volcano. While I was there, the newspapers announced that incendiary acts had been committed on several estates, which, happening at the same time, and at places distant from each other, were thought to betoken co-operation among the slaves. I could not learn how the matter terminated, as the journals were forbidden to say anything more on the subject.*

* "From being the most humane among all European slave owners, the Spanish colonists have become the most barbarous and demoralized. Nothing can be more horrible than the condition of these wretches in the inland plantations of the island. The vices engendered by the increase of slave cultivation extend, as may be supposed, through all classes of society." *Merivale, p.* 40.

It is well known that no attempt is made to give any instruction, not even in religion, to the slaves. I tried to obtain an introduction to a sugar estate, but failed, chiefly through the jealousy felt of every Englishman, who is regarded as the Cuban slaveholder's natural foe. A few of the labouring class of slaves, however, I did meet in Havana, working on the wharves, or in the docks, and a more wretched and miserable set of human beings I have never seen. I could hardly believe that the stolid, round-headed, brutish-looking animals, which were mechanically performing before me the tasks allotted to them, were of the same race as the sharp, quick-witted, and manly people I had left in the islands where freedom is enjoyed; or were even related to the pampered menials who accompany the wealthy ladies of Cuba to their devotions in the churches, carrying their Mass books and unrolling the carpets for their delicate feet.

During the last few years, large numbers of Chinamen have been introduced into Cuba as immigrants. Though promised the advantages of free men, they are really slaves, and oppression has so maddened them, that a large number is always in prison for insubordination. Many more have committed suicide to escape the rigors of their miserable lot. Several gangs that I saw working in the streets bore in their faces an expression of the most hopeless despair. It was heart-rending to witness the silent anguish, and tearless agony, which every feature and every motion of their frame proclaimed.

The Havana abounds with wine shops (bodegas) and billiard rooms. Every Sunday there is a bull fight in

an arena without the walls; and after morning service, spent by some of the women in the churches and by the men in their shops and warehouses, the whole of the élite of society may be found crowded on the Paseo, slowly promenading in splendid equipages, or the light and richly-chased volante. The evening is passed in the theatres. Religion has no place in the thoughts of the Cuban. A few females visit the churches, but the men go there only on occasions of great display. With the exception of the Jesuit church, called Belen, not one that I entered had a good congregation. The audience at High Mass in the cathedral did not number fifty individuals. The Jesuits have of late years tried, and with some success, to stem the torrent of irreligion and immorality; but no other priests pretend to have respect for the rules of morality, to say nothing of the restraints of religion.* Everyone with whom I spoke agreed on the fact of the decay of even the outward observance of the forms of the Catholic faith; while the recklessness of life, and the profound licentiousness of all classes, were represented as appalling. A Protestant church is not allowed to exist; even the British chargé d'affaires can only have worship with the members of his own family. Permission to reside in Cuba must be preceded by a declaration that you are a Roman Catholic. Foreign merchants evade this law, by paying some individual to make the requisite declara-

* "Ce clergé est en effet l'un des plus corrompus qui soient au monde." *Cochin, L'Abolition de l'Esclavage, p.* 205.

tion for them; and our landlady, though an American by birth, and no believer in the dogmas of the Papacy, had so far yielded as to register herself as a Catholic.

The courts of justice are spoken of as incurably corrupt, and as for the custom-house I can personally affirm that bribery and perjury are the rule. We repeatedly heard of outrages committed in open day, and were warned of the insecurity of the streets after dusk. Just as we arrived, two men were publicly garrotted for killing, in one of the chief thoroughfares, in the day time, on his own threshold, an officer of the State. We were told that if at any time we were attacked, and our money demanded, it would be well immediately to surrender it, or certainly the poniard of the assassin would revenge the denial.

Gambling in lottery tickets is universal. It is a State machine for raising revenue, and the sellers of tickets pester the passers by at the corners of every street, at the doors of the shops, and in every place of public resort.

We had numerous accessions to the guests at our hotel from among the members of the Charleston Democratic Convention, which, late in April, had met to nominate a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. The Convention, as is well known, failed to agree upon a candidate, and eight States seceded from the party. One of the seceders told me, that he regarded this secession as very ominous for the future, and that it would probably lead to a disruption of the Federal Union. The slave States would not belong to a

government which does not protect their property. What is a government for, if not to protect property? A man may defend his own life, but his property he cannot. This protection the Federal Government, under the influence of the North, will not afford, and no alternative is left but to separate from the Union. By property, of course, the delegate meant slaves. He also argued that the blacks are an inferior race to the whites; that it is impossible for the two races to live together on terms of equality; that the negroes of America are in a higher state of civilization than they ever would have been in their own country, and are therefore benefited by slavery. To the Northern States, he said, disruption would be fatal. There would be a money crisis and universal bankruptcy. They would be unable to maintain in the field a regiment of soldiers for a month, or to reduce the Southern States; in fact, the North depends on the cotton growers of the South.

This very well expresses the views with which the Southern States have entered on the frightful conflict now proceeding, and shows that secession was foreseen and provided for by the leaders, long before Mr. Lincoln had reached the Presidential chair, or was known as a candidate for it. To all this, the Northern men amongst us returned a smile. They did not believe in disruption; it was all talk and fury. As the South depends on the North for capital, and even for existence, it was impossible for them successfully to secede. On the contrary, they believed that the growth of slavery would be checked; by constitutional means

it would first be confined to its present territory, and eventually be quietly abolished. Events are daily showing that the Northerners were blind to the real state of things in the South, and did not understand the men with whom they had to deal.

We were glad to escape from the stifling heat of the Havana for the salubrious breezes of the sea, and, on the 9th of May, sailed in the English mail steamer, the Karnak, for the Bahamas. The day before, the captain informed us, a slave ship, under American colours, had been captured off Neuvitas. Her owners were so confident, both of impunity from the Spanish officials and the safe landing of the cargo, that they had sent off 23,000 dollars to pay the crew. Both gold and slaves became the prize of her American captors. The ship had 500 wretched captives on board, and had lost 133 during the passage across the Atlantic. She was sent to New York for adjudication.

By noon of the 10th, we were within sight of the lighthouse, which marks the extreme point of the Great Bahama Bank, warning voyagers off the shoals and dangerous coral reefs which here hem in the Great Gulf Stream. Crossing, during the night, the north-west corner of the Bank, we were within sight of New Providence at dawn of day. Our steamer glided by the lighthouse on Hog Island, by which the Harbour of Nassau is formed, and soon anchored off the barracks of the town. As it rained heavily, we delayed landing till after breakfast, when our missionary, the Rev. J. Davey, kindly escorted us on shore.

CHAPTER II.

The Bahamas—Population—Commencement of the Mission—Extent of the Mission—The Mission Churches—The Church in Nassau—Its Out-stations—Town of Nassau—The Wrecking System—Religious Denominations—The Government—Its Revenue—Cruise among the Islands—San Salvador—Its Churches and People—Negro Anthems—Good English—Inagua—The Salt-pans—The Chapel—Turks' Islands—Their Settlement—Tenure of the Salt-ponds—The Churches—A Hurricane Adventure—State of Religion—Return Voyage—The Sea and its Beauties—Farewells—Homebound.

NEW Providence is one of some four or five hundred islands, studding the coral banks which close in the northern part of the Gulf of Mexico. A great number of them are mere rocky islets, or lagoon islands, without vegetation or use, except as the resort of turtle and sea birds. About thirty are inhabited. Some of these are from fifty to one hundred miles in length, and from one to six in breadth. Just before emancipation, the population was reckoned at 16,500 persons, of whom 9000 were slaves. In 1851 it had increased to 30,663. Eight or nine thousand persons reside in New Providence, concentrated chiefly in Nassau, the capital, and over three thousand live on the islands which constitute the Turks' Islands Government. They were separated a few years ago from the government of the northern islands.

Our missionary operations commenced in 1833, on the arrival of the Rev. J. Burton, from Jamaica. There was known to exist a considerable number of persons calling themselves Baptists, who traced their religious belief to the exertions of black men, brought from the United States at the close of the war, in 1813. Communications had been received in Jamaica from them, and a desire expressed to receive further instruction in the gospel. Mr. Burton found that little had been done for the religious benefit of the slaves. The Church of England was indifferent, and the Wesleyan body had confined its ministrations to the white and free coloured population. The people were addicted to all the vices incident to West Indian slavery. The leaders of the so called Baptist churches were illiterate men—only one could read. The people who followed them indulged in many superstitious practices, and paid scant regard to the moral precepts of the gospel.

Many gathered around the missionaries who from time to time entered on the work; and, as island after island was visited, great numbers received with gladness the message of eternal life, and confessed Christ with sincerity and joy. Two small churches were formed in Nassau, which afterwards became one, and in other islands similar communities were established.

At the time of my visit, missionary churches had been formed on eighteen islands, containing 2656 members, divided into three districts, under the superintendence of the Revds. J. Davey, W. Littlewood, and W. K. Rycroft. Moreover, there are scattered

through the islands considerable numbers of native Baptists, who regard the Rev. Mr. Romer, of Nassau, as their pastor. He has a congregation of some 600 persons, assembling in a plain but substantial chapel, in the capital. I found him to be a very worthy man, not of much education, but devoted, humble, and pious, and living in fraternal intercourse with the missionary. Including the native Baptists, quite one-third of the entire population of the islands may be considered as attached to our communion.

Nassau, Inagua, and Grand Cay, are the places of abode of the missionaries, whence they make excursions to the out-islands. The changes of season, the uncertainty of the winds, and the difficulty of securing passages, render their visits uncertain. This has constrained an arrangement, by which the churches on each island are placed under the charge of a native minister, more or less educated for the work. But, in addition, every church has its leaders, two or more in number, by whom the worship and many of its proceedings are conducted. As the islands have no internal communications, or such as are very difficult to traverse, every little settlement is cut off from frequent intercourse with its neighbours. It therefore has its own chapel, its own officers, and meets for worship independently both of the missionary and native pastor. These visit it from time to time, examine into cases of discipline, baptize candidates, admit members, and regulate the proceedings of the church. The missionaries are sustained by the Society; but the

native pastors are supported partly by the contributions of the people, and partly from the resources of the churches in the three central islands of the districts.

The Baptist church in Nassau contains upwards of seven hundred members. It has two chapels. The Mission chapel is well situated in the centre of the town, near the public offices, with the Mission House close by; the other is about a mile off, where the mass of the black people reside. The missionary preaches in both during the Lord's-day, and usually to crowded congregations. Although the Mission chapel will hold eight hundred persons, it is about to be enlarged to contain the increasing numbers which flock to the ministry of the Word. I had the pleasure of addressing large audiences in both, on several occasions, as well as the congregation of Mr. Romer. Nothing could exceed the order, attention, and respectable appearance of the black people who crowded them.

Connected with the Nassau church are stations in the villages of Fox Hill, Carmichael, and Adelaide, the latter a settlement of captured Africans on the side of the island opposite to Nassau.

The road to Fox Hill runs along the sea coast, to the eastwards of Nassau, and terminates in the settlement some five miles from the capital. Near to it is a large plantation of orange-trees, a hundred acres in extent, lately planted, from which the proprietor is gathering a handsome return, shipping his produce to the United States. The trees are planted in the cavities of the calcareous rock, where a fertile soil collects; they also contain

supplies of pure water for the roots. The road to Adelaide runs across the island, and after leaving the small plantations which surround the houses of the people in the suburbs, passes through a continuous unbroken pine barren. There are no estates, no plantations; only here and there a few cottage holdings. Carmichael, about half way, has ceased almost to be a village; the houses are in decay, and the gardens have run to bush. Near Adelaide, is a small lagoon, affording a few fish to the Africans who obtain a precarious living by growing maize, feeding fowls, and a little fruit and vegetables for the Nassau market. Charcoal is burnt in the forest, and a portion of the timber is used for building purposes; but New Providence, with its nine thousand inhabitants, depends on foreign countries for its food, its clothing, and all the necessaries as well as luxuries of life.

Nassau is an exceedingly pretty town, the roads in it are excellent, and cleanly kept; its drainage is good; the houses of the white people are handsome, well-built, airy, and elegant; while those of the negroes are usually neat and suitable to their condition. A considerable trade is carried on in sponges, which are abundant among the islands, and in shells; but the great support of the place is the wrecking business. Scarcely a week passes without one or more valuable cargoes being brought into Nassau for sale, from wrecks on some of the numerous shoals and reefs, which endanger the traffic carried on by the United States with Cuba and Central America. Sometimes these wrecks are suspected

of being purposely effected, to the damage of the owners and underwriters, but to the gain of the captain and his crew, through collusion with the wreckers. The boats employed in this profitable but gambling traffic, are small schooners of from twenty to forty tons, manned almost entirely by black men, who, by long habit, have become daring and skilful sailors. But all classes participate in their gains; and from this source is derived the chief portion of the revenue, and the wealth which is very observable in Nassau.* The moral effect of the wrecking system on all engaged in it is most lamentable, and greatly hinders the religious and intellectual improvement of the people. In order to check the growth of the gambling spirit that the system evokes, and to bring their proceedings under legal cognizance, wrecking schooners must take out a license; but so attractive is it, that nearly all other employments are neglected, and the developement of the agricultural resources of the islands is to a great extent impeded.

The Wesleyans have, in Nassau, a large and flourishing congregation. They were about to erect a new chapel at a cost of £4000, towards which they had secured a grant of £1000 from the island Treasury, payable in instalments in three years. The Kirk of Scotland possesses a handsome church, and the Church of England

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* Total value of Imports for 1856, £189,398
" " 1857, £211,748
Derived from Wrecks .. 1856, £96,304
" " .. 1857, £87,573

has four congregations in the island. The Establishment is presided over by an archdeacon, who is paid £1000 per annum by the British Government. Lately, the Bahamas have been transformed into a bishopric: hitherto they have formed a part of the diocese of Jamaica. The revenues of the island furnish nearly £3000 a year for the support of the Church Establishment.

The colony has its Governor, Council, and Legislative Assembly, and the inhabitants seem generally content with their proceedings. The entire revenue was, in 1859, a little more than £30,000, four-fifths of which were derived from custom duties on imports. The imports, in 1859, were of the value of £213,166, of which nearly one-third consisted of cargoes from wrecks, and a still larger proportion of the exports. "Wrecks," says Governor Bayley, in the last of his Annual Reports laid before Parliament, "are the great and constant element of our trade and revenue."

Nassau, during the last few years, has been much frequented by invalids from America. Its salubrity, and easy access from New York by steamer in four days, have rendered it an attractive resort to those whose lives are endangered by the severe winters of the Northern States. For their accommodation, and with the hope of enriching the inhabitants, the Legislature has undertaken to erect a large hotel.

Having made the requisite arrangements, we set sail in a small schooner of forty tons, on the 17th May, for a cruise among the islands, having as our companions, Mr. and Mrs. Davey, with their little girl and two

servants. Our crew consisted of six sailors, all black men, well accustomed to the navigation of the banks and channels. Baffling winds detained us off New Providence till the next day; but, by sunset, we had crossed the shallows, called the Middle Ground, and entered the deep waters of the Gulf of Exuma. During the night, the wind drove us from our course, and in the morning we were near the island of Eleuthera. As our firewood ran short, our captain stopped at the uninhabited Cay, called Little Cat Island, to cut some from the bush. The interior of the island is a swamp; lizards and snakes are abundant enough, but there is no cultivable soil. The beach was thickly strewn with triturated shells, which the sea waves gradually harden into rock. From another rocky islet near at hand, we obtained a supply of boobies' eggs.

With daylight on Sunday we were off the island of San Salvador. Entering a small haven, called Bennett's Harbour, where there is a village of thirty houses, the residence of our native pastor, J. Laroda, we spent the day with his people. In a few hours the tidings of our arrival had spread to the neighbouring settlements, and the people of the four nearest joined us in worship. The island is about fifty miles in length, with a width of from three to five miles, except at its southern end, where it widens into a sort of foot, and has a breadth of twelve miles. The south-east point is named Columbus Point, which tradition asserts to be the first land that Columbus saw on his celebrated voyage of discovery.

This is disputed with much show of reason, and Grand Cay, one of the Turks' Islands, claims with greater probability the priority of honour. San Salvador contains about 1900 inhabitants, scattered in ten villages. They are all Baptists, belonging either to our mission, or to the native community under Mr. Romer. There is a meeting-house in each village, and the ten churches number 340 members. Each church has its leader and elders, who conduct the classes, and is independent of the rest in its church order and discipline. Mr. Laroda travels among them as their common pastor. They contribute partially to his support. Last year a proposal was mooted in the Legislature to levy a tax and build an Episcopal church on the island, and appoint a clergyman. Mr. Davey very properly resisted it, on the ground that the Mission had looked after these poor people when entirely neglected; that they were attached to our polity, and had built themselves chapels; and that it would be a gross injustice to tax them in order to build a church, and pay a clergyman to proselytise them to the Church of England. These representations prevailed, and the proposal was voted down.

There is not, I believe, a single white person resident on the island. Fishing, planting maize in the hollows of the rocks, the cultivation of the sweet potatoe, yams, plantains, and oranges, and raising pine-apples for the American and English fruit markets, are the occupations of the people. Nassau is the market for their corn, and where they obtain clothes and other articles. They

have pigs and poultry, but neither cattle nor goats; and although poor, if the possession of coin is the test of wealth, they seem to have abundance of the necessaries of life. There are a few horses, but no carriages. The roads are mere rocky paths, and the chief communication is by sea.

A good congregation assembled, to which both Mr. Davey and myself preached during the day. Some time also was devoted to a conference with the leaders. The classes meet on Sundays and Tuesdays. After the morning service on the Lord's-day, an examination takes place in the sermon. The Lord's Supper is observed once in three months, at the coming of the pastor. I was much pleased with the simplicity and ardour of these primitive people. It is only by dint of hard labour that they can secure a livelihood from their rocky island; yet their houses are comfortably built, and their appearance is that of a thriving peasantry. With few of the conveniences of civilized life, they seem happy, contented, and pious. The gospel is their enlightener; it elevates their thoughts and purifies their affections. "It is," said one of them, "our only amusement to sing and pray." Discipline for immorality is, however, not unfrequently called for; but I was glad to find that the tone of their moral feeling was decided and true.

We were very much amused by some specimens of the "anthems," as they call them, with which they were wont to cheer each other in the days of darkness

and slavery, and still sing in seasons of social mirth. I will give a specimen or two :—

1.

"I'll kneel down here, and I'll kneel down there,
And I'll kneel down a little 'most everywhere;
Chorus. And everybody speaking about that same child Jesus—
That was a mighty Jesus;
Sing glory, hallelujah,
That same child Jesus,
And everybody speaking about that same child Jesus.

2.

"The tallest tree in Paradise
The Christian calls the tree of life;
Chorus. And everybody &c., &c.

3.

"He takes me up to Calvary,
And shews the blood He spilt for me;
Chorus. And everybody &c., &c.

Here is another :—

1.

"Oh! what a joy in the promised land;
My Lord calls me, and now I am to go.
Oh! what a joy in the promised land.

2.

"Oh! what a joy in the promised land;
I have a loving brother in the promised land.
Oh! what a joy in the promised land."

Substituting the name of father, mother, sister, friend,

etc., the same refrain is repeated indefinitely, as also in the following :—

"My brother you must watch and pray
If you want to die in the righteous way.
The righteous way is a very good way;
And you want to die in the righteous way."

The music was a kind of chant, not wanting in melody, and had a very exciting effect upon the singers. They told me that with such songs, they often comforted and animated one another in the days of old, when working in the bush, or cotton plantation. These anthems reminded me of the hymns of the ranters, which, in my youth, I have often heard in the rural counties of England, and which they much resemble, both in words and music.

I was much struck with the excellent pronunciation of our English tongue, which prevails throughout these islands. The captain of our schooner said in explanation, that it was owing to the schools, and that the Bahaman negroes pride themselves on their good articulation.

As the evening drew on, we left these interesting people, many of whom accompanied us to the beach, clearing our way, striking off the rain drops from the over-hanging bushes, that we might not be wetted; and, as our boat was launched, chanting a farewell hymn, the echoes of which did not die away till night had quite fallen.

Light winds and calms detained us—"flattering weather" the sailors called it—varied with an occasional

squall, so that it was four days before we reached Inagua, the station and residence of Mr. Littlewood. The settlement is called Matthew Town, and is the only one on the island. Inagua is one of the largest as well as the most southerly of the islands of the Archipelago, being fifty-four miles long and fifteen broad. A small village of black people has for a long time existed, and cotton was formerly grown; but it is only of late years that the island has attracted Europeans, by whom large salt-pans have been formed, and a considerable export trade in salt originated. But even now the entire population does not exceed a thousand persons. The island is a dead level, with the exception of two or three rocky elevations on the western side, the highest of which is not more than ninety feet. In the centre is a large lagoon of brackish water, very shallow, and the resort of large flocks of the scarlet plumaged flamingo. They were too shy to allow us a very near approach. To reach the lagoon, we passed through an extensive thicket without timber trees. Near the lake was a kind of grass much prized for food for cattle. This island possesses almost the only land in the Archipelago so free from rocks that a plough may be used; but at present it is quite uncultivated. All the inhabitants, with the exception of a few store-keepers and fishermen, are salt rakers, or dependent on the sale of salt. Near the salt-ponds is found a very tenacious and level surface of lime marl, which, when enclosed, forms an admirable bottom for the evaporating pans, and becomes hard with use. The

pans are made by raising a low mound of stones and clay, which serve for paths, as well as to retain the salt water. They are of different sizes, from a few square yards to an acre. The salt water is obtained either from the sea or from the saline lagoons, which are found in the centre parts of all the salt islands. It is raised by wheels, with flap boards, worked either by the wind or manual labour. As the evaporation proceeds, a beautiful pink colour, which is intensified as the point of crystallization is reached, is suffused through the salt, but which soon fades after it is raked and piled in heaps. The salt is sold at about *5d.* a bushel, at which price a fair profit may be made. The labourers earn from *1s.* 6*d.* to *2s.* a day. The principal proprietor of the salt-pans told me, that they are very industrious, though sometimes slow, from the influence of the heat, and are also very docile and manageable.

These salt-ponds were originally let at a stipulated rent, by the Crown. Latterly the fee simple has been sold. The price was first fixed at £18 an acre; it is now £12. As much as 15,000 bushels of salt have been raked in one year, from a pan less than an acre in extent; but 10,000 may be regarded as an average. One raking may give 4000 bushels; and, if the season is fine, the pan may be filled at least three times. A bushel weighs from 70 to 80 lbs. The crystal is large and heavy, and is said to be the finest made in the group.

Mr. Littlewood has erected a good substantial chapel

of stone, with a shingled roof, that will hold 300 persons. It is always full when he is at home. There are eighty-four members in church fellowship. Much of the timber, and the panels of the pulpit, came from the wreck of a steamer. The large bell was recently purchased from another wreck. It was on its way to Cuba, there to summon the slaves of a sugar estate to the field. It cost the congregation £50, and is employed in the far better work of calling the people of this free island to the house of God.

The Church of England has a church in the town, which is well attended. The clergyman and the missionary cordially unite in every public measure for the moral and spiritual wellbeing of the people.

Taking Mr. Littlewood on board, after a stay of four days, we set sail for Turks' Islands. We very slowly rounded the south and eastern sides of the island, where the low sand hills are the favorite resort of the hawk's-bill turtle, from which the tortoiseshell of commerce is obtained. Going on shore, we found one of their nests, containing about a hundred eggs round in shape, and having a soft envelope like tough skin: our sailors eagerly feasted on them; to us they were distasteful. We did not reach Grand Cay, the chief of the Turks' Islands, till the morning of the fifth day, passing by Little Inagua, Ambergris Cay, and the Caicos Islands. A hearty welcome awaited us from Mr. and Mrs. Rycroft.

The Turks' Islands consist of Grand Cay, Salt Cay, and the numerous islets on the Caicos' banks, and were formed, a few years ago, into a separate government.

The population of the whole group does not number more than 3250 souls, yet it has its Governor (called the President), Colonial Secretary, Legislative Council, Supreme Court, Board of Education; in short, all the apparatus of an administration suited for a kingdom. As may be supposed, in so small a community, party spirit runs very high, and personal feeling, rather than a wise policy, too often determines the course of legislation. With the exception of a few in the Caicos, who breed cattle and grow provisions, the occupation of the whole people is the manufacture of salt; and, as the demand for it is precarious, there is sometimes much distress.

These islands were originally colonized from Bermuda, whence adventurers came to rake salt. The Government of Bermuda soon established an agent, investing him with plenary powers to regulate all affairs. At that time there was no impost or taxation. Owing to some differences, an appeal was made to George III., who granted a Charter, called the "Royal Regulations;" which was long regarded by the inhabitants as their Magna Charta. In 1791, a custom-house was established, and the islands were incorporated with the Bahamas Government.

At an early date in the history of the colony, the salt funds were divided annually among all the inhabitants, except slaves, whose shares went to their respective masters. This plan gave rise to many disputes, and the shortness of the tenure prevented improvements. In 1837, an Act was passed to meet the altered circum-

stances arising out of emancipation. It secured to every apprentice one-sixth part of a share, and to other parties, obtaining shares at the next annual division, a right to the same for five years. Ten per cent. of the whole were authorized to be sold, and the proceeds appropriated to the improvement of the ponds. Every five years a fresh division was to take place. In 1842, the emancipated negroes would have become entitled to an equal share with the rest of the inhabitants; but a measure was previously framed to secure, to parties desirous of cultivating the ponds, long leases of twenty-one years. It contained provisions for poor widows, and for a division of the profits of one-third of the improved ponds among the enfranchised. The measure was based on the principles usually applied to Crown lands; and the proceeds of the leases were to be devoted to public works. Had the measure been fairly carried out, no objection could have been made; but, by fraudful representations, by imposing on the ignorance and credulity of the black people, many were deprived of their fair share, and leases were obtained at merely nominal rates. Great irritation of feeling has ever since prevailed, rendering government often difficult; while an antagonism of race has been created most detrimental to the progress and improvement of the people.

During the week of our stay, visits were paid to the various islands and settlements. An excellent chapel has been built in Grand Cay, which will hold 600 people. The church contains about 150 members, and on the

other islands there are 280 more. A good chapel also exists at Salt Cay, while in the Caicos stations, the places of worship are of a more humble character.

In our voyage from Salt Cay we had with us the wife of the senior deacon. She told us the following remarkable adventure during a great hurricane some years ago. She had been confined the day before with a daughter. The house was blown down, and with some difficulty she escaped. Her husband put her and the baby, well wrapped up, in a wheelbarrow, and sought to shelter them in the bush. It was very dark. A powerful gust of wind took the babe out of her hands, and rolled the little bundle towards the beach. Her husband ran after it, and by the lightning flash, saw it blown into the sea. He rushed into the waves, and seized the child. The tempest snatched it a second time from his grasp, and again it rolled into the sea. He waded to his chin to get it, and took the poor child to the nearest house. By this time his wife and another child had lost themselves in the bush, while trying in the darkness to find a shelter. Their clothes were torn by the fury of the wind from their persons, and they crouched, naked, under a prickly pear. At length, exhausted, the poor woman reached a refuge; but did not see or hear of her husband and the babe till morning. The wrappings had preserved the child's life, but at first it looked dead, and was quite white (the parents are black people). Many thorns from the leaves of the prickly pear, gathered as it rolled along, were drawn out of its body. The little girl

gradually recovered; but though she lived to the age of nineteen, her life was a sickly one.

Grand Cay enjoys the ministrations of an excellent clergyman, whose reprobation of vice has brought upon him the enmity of some of the white inhabitants. The Wesleyans have also a good chapel, and a flourishing society, said to number 430 persons in the entire colony. The attendance of all classes on public worship is tolerably good, but there are many in Grand Cay who go nowhere. The discipline of the Baptist church appeared to be carefully maintained, while in all respects its arrangements were similar to those I have already described. A public system of education exists, which costs about £700 a year, in addition to the fees of the scholars; but the Governor doubts whether anyone in the islands, whether friendly or inimical to the schools, considers that the colony gets the worth of its money in education. So dissatisfied is Mr. Rycroft with the Government school in the Caicos, that he has felt obliged to establish one under the superintendence of the excellent native pastor, Mr. S. Kerr. The people of the islands exhibit, however, very considerable intelligence, and their advancement in material and social position is manifest and decided.

On the 9th January, adding Mr. Rycroft to our guests on board the schooner, we commenced our return to Nassau, calling at Lorimers in the Caicos, both to spend the Lord's-day with the people, and to leave Mr. Rycroft, who wished to visit his outlying stations. Thence we made our way to Inagua, and after two days'

rest, pursued our voyage to Long Island, and Rum Cay; at the latter spending another Lord's-day, and leaving Mr. Littlewood to set apart two native brethren as pastors. These islands are salt islands; but have lost their trade through the settlement of Inagua, and their population is, in consequence, rapidly declining.

It only remained to call at San Salvador, to leave Mr. Laroda, and to conclude our cruise by touching at the two stations on the island of Eleuthera. The sail through these shallow seas was often very delightful, though, when the breeze failed us, and the sails flapped idly against the masts, and the sun poured upon us a flood of heat almost intolerable to bear, we longed for the agency of steam to speed us on our way. While thus idly floating, the silvery bottom of the sea would often present itself with startling clearness. Feathery fronds of corallines and polypes branching out like trees, in garden-like beds; fish of brilliant reds and greens, in stripes or chequered crossings, with sponges and conch shells, and occasionally a tortoise feeding on the abundant pastures of sea-weed below, afforded us abundant pleasure. Once our sailors harpooned a dolphin, which gave us at once the pain and gratification of witnessing the changing hues of the dying fish, as its skin was suffused with golden light, gradually passing through every possible shade into a silvery white, till death left it a dull unattractive grey. At another time, shoals of porpoises amused us with their gambols; while sunsets of indescribable beauty and grandeur ushered in the no less impressive splendour of the starry sky.

'Calling at Tarpum Bay, we learnt that the schoolmaster was slowly gathering around him a few pious people. The villagers were busy loading an American ship with pineapples. At Governor's Harbour, where the village is built on a rock united to the island by a strip of sand, we had a good gathering of the people in the evening, and were kindly entertained by our native brother, Mr. McDonald. Religion here seemed to be in a languid state. The chapel was a poor structure of wattle and thatch, a good stone building near at hand having been begun, but never completed. The people, however, gave us a warm reception, and when we left accompanied us to the boat, which they half filled with pineapples,* and other fruits, chanting farewell hymns. The echoes of their songs reached us for a long time, as we lay waiting till the rising of the moon would permit us to lift anchor and proceed on our way.

We reached Nassau on Friday, the 22nd June. Some days were spent in visiting friends, and in inspecting the efficient and well-conducted Government schools, which are taught on the system of the British and Foreign School Society. They are approved by all classes, except the heads of the Church of England, who, displeased that the Church Catechism is not taught, have established schools of their own. Our gratifying visit was closed

* We were informed that, although it was early in the season, 50,000 dozen of pineapples had been shipped at this place for the United States and for Europe. The price obtained for them ran from 3*s*. 6*d*. to 3*s*. 9*d*. a dozen. Two ships were waiting for a similar cargo.

with a crowded missionary meeting, in which we enjoyed the assistance of the Presbyterian and Wesleyan ministers.

On the 6th July we bade farewell to our kind and hospitable friends, and went on board the Karnak mail steamer for New York. A few weeks were spent in visiting the Northern States of America, and Canada, and we reached our native land after a fine run across the Atlantic of eleven days, in the splendidly fitted Cunard steamer, "The Asia," landing at Liverpool on Lord's-day, August the 26th.

Through thirteen months of exposure in tropical latitudes, amid some perils, and under very varied circumstances, the good hand of God had led us, protecting our lives, confirming our health, enriching us with life-long associations, friendships, and happy memories. To Him, above all, are our grateful thanksgivings due.

THE END.

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